NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. | Without Concealment---Without Compromise. | EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

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PRO-SLAVERY AND ANTI-SLAVERY ADVOCATES.

It would be amusing to read the opinions just put forth by the National Anti-Slavery Society of this city on the one side, and by the extreme and uncompromising advocates of Slavery at the South on the other, were it not always painful to see men intelligent in other respects clinging to error; but it must sound strange to all ears to hear the perfect concord of sentiment between these men of extreme opinions. There are disunionists, and many of them in both sections of the country, but in both parties, those who hold these unpatriotic sentiments are generally to be found zealots, factionists, or bigots. They are men who seek notoriety by a sacrifice of principle, and who, finding it impossible to become distinguished by any just course of policy or of opinion, mount a hobby in order that they may ride the whirlwind and direct the storm. They despise the constitution because it is a barrier to their headlong progress. They ridicule law, because the law restrains them within the bounds of moderation. They preach up a sectional crusade, in the expectation that if disunion could take place, the fruits of such folly would result in their own personal good. These men are the chiefs among demagogues, and the leaders of men content to be led by passion and disorganization.

That we do not speak without the book in this matter, we quote below sentiments placed at random before us. Thus, in South Carolina, the declaration of sentiment is as follows:—

> A continuance in the Union as it is, will ruin us politically and pecuniarily, and corrupt us morally. We cannot remain so intimately connected with any people, without partaking of their vices; or, in other words, "we cannot touch filth without being defiled." In the event of secession, the South, profiting by the experience of the past, with a common interest binding them together with hooks of steel, with free trade with all the world, and her peculiar institutions undisturbed, may unite in a Southern Confederacy without convulsion, and pursue her manifest destiny, her onward march to greatness and glory, the admiration if not the envy of the world.

And from another quarter of this spunky State we read again:—

> "Were it not that we have suffered so long, and are still smarting under the accumulated and accumulating insults and injuries of New England, I could weep for the folly and madness of her people—the ruin they are working out for themselves. They, however, have sown the seeds of the tempest, and must reap the whirlwind. If true to ourselves we are safe in any event, more particularly that of secession."

Ex-President Houston, United States Senator, from Texas, at a Democratic Convention in Louisiana, we regret also to see defending the late Southern caucus held in Washington, under the lead of Mr. Calhoun, and also threatening, if report speaks true, all sorts of dire calamities, should the "Wilmot Proviso" be put in force.

We could wish all such threats, so unbecoming States and men, and in particular men in high official positions, were drowned in an absorbing love of the Union, and in an abiding attachment to principles consistent with the healthy and permanent existence of the Government under which we live; but, unfortunately, fanaticism is a plant not of slow growth. It flourishes in cold and hot climes alike, and is forever exerting its evil influence upon the minds of men and upon communities and States.

South Carolina is not alone silly and wicked, however. Looking to the North, and at our own doors, we find men, if not of kindred sentiments, equally ultra in the support of extreme opinions, and looking to the same disastrous end.

Thus, at the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of the Union, last week, at the Tabernacle, the following resolutions, offered by Edmund Quincy, were advocated and adopted:—

> Resolved, That from the first hour that the Abolitionists espoused the cause of the slave, they necessarily as a matter of principle, broke their alliance with the slaveholders; and if any of them are found clinging to churches which give the right hand of Christian fellowship to a slaveholder, or engage the doctrine of disunion, it is simply because guilty of betraying that cause to which they sacredly pledged themselves.
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> Resolved, That if, at the close of our revolutionary struggle for independence when the fire of Liberty was burning brightest in every breast, and but half a million of slaves were on our soil, the American Union could be formed only by throwing around Slavery and the slave trade national guaranties for protection; it follows that, with a slave population of three millions, the number of slave States more than doubled, and the national conscience seared as with a hot iron by a long and frightful career of oppression, the Union can be maintained only so long as those guaranties are recognized as binding on the whole country.
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> Resolved, That that which is giving strength, extension and perpetuity to Slavery—to wit, THE UNION—on being overthrown by a peaceful withdrawal from it by the non-slaveholding States, for conscience sake and for self-preservation, must necessarily weaken, limit, and speedily extirpate Slavery from the American soil. Therefore,
>
> Resolved, That the motto of every Christian and of every Patriot should be—"No union with slaveholders, neither religiously or politically."

Resolved, That this is not a question of expediency, on which action may be innocently deferred "till a more convenient season," but one of absolute morality—of obedience to God and fidelity to mankind—to be met and carried out to the letter without delay.

The speeches in support of the resolutions were a good deal more radical than the resolutions themselves. Here, for example, is the sentiment of Wendell Phillips, of Boston:—

> *We confess that we intend to trample under foot the Constitution of this country; we call upon you to do likewise.*—Shall I tell you why? You can never make a revolution in this matter until you make the common sense and the consciences of the people superior to their statute book; until you arraign against the despotism of the majority the conscientious convictions of the mass of the minority, whatever it be. Our Society rests like a pyramid on its broadest basis. * * * There is a law on the statute book that bids you return the fugitive slave to his master. Every man feels it to be wrong, and shrinks from carrying it into execution. Still that devil of the American character—if there is no other—compromise—that devil to which has been sacrificed the morality, the logic, the literature, and the intellect of the American people, obstructs our way.—An American is one who never dares to be logical, but turns a short corner the moment his logic encounters this compromise, which he looks up to as his star in the firmament. Now we must address such a people, fixed in their worship of a false religion and of adherence to a corrupt Constitution, and how shall it be done? We will say to the slave, "Our doors are open to you, this law is nothing to us; we will never obey it; we will appeal to the people by the voice of remonstrance. Yea, we will appeal by more distinct protest than that; we will appeal by the voice of disobedience, risking its consequences." * * * Daniel Webster says you are a law-abiding people—that the glory of New England is, that it is a law-abiding community. Shame on it, if this be true; if even the religion of New England sinks as low as its statute book. But I say we are not a law-abiding community; God be thanked for it. Proclaim the fact in the face of the statute book, that however illegal it is, there are houses in which fugitive slaves can be sheltered, though the arm of the President himself should be put forth to require obedience. (Applause.)

One more extract from this phillippic, and we have done:—

> That is the error of American politics. We have forced the Democratic party out of the field, the original ally of the slave power. We have sent the Whigs into an alliance with Southern slaveholders; it is a natural alliance. It is the Lords of the Lash and the Lords of the Loom associated. (Applause and hisses.) It is the capital of the country and the conservatism of the country against the ideas of the country; for the Democratic party has always represented, though very imperfectly, the idea of American liberty and American progress. We have drawn the lines, the struggle is commenced, and we shall probably live to see its issue. But no matter whether we do or do not, this much we know, that when a man puts himself against principle, it is a struggle like that of the angel with Jacob; it may last an age or a night, but the man is sure to be vanquished.
>
> The South did not annex Texas; she could not do it: she had no power; the slave power is not synonymous with the Southern slaveholders; the slave power resides in Ohio, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania; in a corrupt sentiment, in a tainted church, in a prostituted literature; in the school-houses of the free States: there lies the slave power. The South, bankrupt, poverty-stricken, weak, trembling like an aspen leaf—she annex Texas! She talk about annexing Cuba! Let her stand alone. I should like to see her get up and separate herself from her Northern crutches, and stand on her own legs. The civilization of the South! Let it save itself for an hour from the gulf of its own barbarism in three millions of slaves: then I will believe it; but till then it is you that I address—you, the slaveholders and the slave power of America.
>
> The South is a minus quantity; it is an incubus; nay, it is more: it is a disease.
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> Somebody in reckoning the strength of the Spanish monarchy put down the Lowlands and Netherlands as a minus quantity to be substracted: it diminished rather than increased the strength of the empire. So it may be said of the South. We have in this country to overlap, to shield her, to sustain her character in order to recover herself; and the capital of the nation is expended in scrubbing up the escutcheon of South Carolina to make it decent. (Loud applause).

[The *Express*, with the blundering stupidity for which it is remarkable, here confounds General Felix *Huston* of La. a rabid Disunionist, and the notorious General Sam *Houston* of Texas, who has rendered himself obnoxious to the Calhounists for opposing Disunionism.—Ed. Standard.]

We do not suppose such railing as this can do much harm. It is the very madness of the moon, and were it from Frederick Douglass, rather than Wendell Phillips, it might be pardoned. These men, in all sections of the Union, in their wild fanaticism, forget the spirit of Christianity, of brotherly love, of forbearance, of patience, of justice, in the excess of their zeal. Such men have forged the fetters of Slavery, and increased the burdens of those whom they profess to serve. A little more charity, and they would be a great deal more Christian.—*N. Y. Express.*

Anniversary Week was an era in the history of the Empire City. Societies of all sorts and for all purposes, held meetings day and night, in Broadway and out of Broadway—in fact all over the Island, on which New York happens to be built. A society for distributing Tracts, to everybody that wants them, and particularly to anybody that don't, held its annual meeting, and with Trinity Church before its eyes, talked of elevating the masses, and diffusing religion, by means of an intinite number of small works, of just four pages, printed full of sect and sectarianism, and poked under everybody's doors for nothing. Then various abolition societies assembled in force, with speakers of all classes and sexes and of all shades of merit—good, bad, and indifferent. Many of these speakers dissolved the Union. We inform our distant readers of this fact with infinite regret. "The Death Punishment" received its annual blow, from various speakers, assembled at the call of the Anti-Capital Punishment Society, and Dr. Cheever's defence of hanging, was knocked into very small pieces. The Millerites, too, holding fast their faith in Millerism, assembled in respectable force, and talked about the Prophecies for the several consecutive days. Then there were Missionary Societies without number—for the Heathen, for the Hindoos, Chinamen and Hottentots—one for the Heathens at Home, and only one—and yet not a single one for the introduction of Christianity into the Congress of the United States.

Some good, however, comes of all this meeting and talking. If the orators of these societies speak truth—well. If they don't—also well. Truth is truth, by whomsoever spoken.

If James Gordon Bennett should assert that the Bible is true, we should not doubt it, even though affirmed by Bennett. And Humbug will remain Humbug, by whomsoever uttered. So let Societies meet and talk, and talk and meet again; what is good in all this meeting and talking, will produce good fruit in spite of [illegible]. Mc- who offers to kill the unborn child, in the columns of Bennett's paper.

The Society mania prevails largely in America. Men cannot think unless they get a Society to help them. Many Societies do all the thinking of every one of their members: that is they catch truth and boil her down, and cook her to a turn, until she is ready for public use in the shape of "A Preamble and Resolutions."

You cannot speak to a certain class, of any great idea, without being asked at once:—"Why don't you form a Society? Why don't you have a President, and a lot of Vice Presidents, and a Board of Secretaries—eh?" They seem to think that man was made to go in harness. If he gets the trammels of Priestcraft off his neck, he must forthwith put on the yoke of Society craft. The worst of it is, that in these Societies, formed and governed as they are, mediocrity and mere mediocrity, too often is the ruler. yes, the absolute tyrant. We can conceive of a Society, which without creed or dogma, would do good to its members and the world, but that Society does not resemble in any one point, the mass of Associations for Everything of the present day.

versary Week" exposes as the societies:

> How many young men are there who think that they are nothing but vulgar fractions constituting the universe. Too many of us aim at being no higher than parts of organization or association. We never dream of being anything but Presbyterians, or Whigs, or Democrats. The clergymen of all denominations look upon young men and women as so much material, to be worked up and added to their respective congregations; and the politician treats them in a similar way. The discovery of organism has had an extremely prejudical influence in this respect; for, under its operations, as the physical body under the influence of chloroform, no pain or twinge of the conscience can be felt; and the conscience of the country may now be cut into slices, without any feeling."

A good deal of truth in this. You and I, grew up Sectarians, and our children must do the same. The Church will do our religious thinking, and the Political Party, our political thinking. Is'nt this all right? Again says this same speaker:

> What was the use of building Trinity or Grace Church in face of this declaration that God does not dwell in them. Now, we see all this money expended, but did you ever hear of the church building a house for poor people, for poor widows, for instance (God's own children) to dwell in and be comfortable? No; instead of doing this, they built these great houses for God, which he says he will not live in, which he wont live in, and which he don't want to live in. Now, how many fine, comfortable cottages would not the expense of Trinity church have erected. Trinity church will no doubt be a fine ruin before two hundred years, and so, no doubt, will be the religion which is preached in it.

Now this is pure blasphemy. It is true that Trinity Church has no more title to its property and its lands, than Louis Napoleon has claims to honesty, truth or common sense; but who but an Infidel would indulge in a speculation as to how many Homes for the Poor, might be reared out of money, and the labour, now petrified in the walls of Trinity Church?

Trinity Church a ruin before two hundred years! The speaker gives its note of existence a long—a very long extension. 'So will the religion preached in it!" The arrant blasphemer! Had he abused Christianity, there would not have been much feeling on the subject, but to speak thus of the Religion of the Onderdonks and the Doanes! It is positively appalling. What a fine subject for the Artists's pencil is presented in this brief paragraph:

> Mrs. Foster observed that she intended to apply to Martin Van Buren for the trifling donation of $400, in aid of the funds of the Society."

When Abby Kelley Foster goes to ask $400 from Mr. Van Buren, for the Anti-Slavery Society, we should like of all things in the world to be "*thar.*"—(*Phila.*) *Quaker City.*

Abolition Meetings.—The American Anti-Slavery Society met in the Tabernacle on Tuesday morning, at 10 A. M. A large audience was assembled. We arrived just in time to hear the resolutions read, which we shall probably publish with those of the American and foreign Anti-Slavery Society in our next number.

Below will be found a condensed report, partly taken from the daily papers, of the speeches made on this occasion, and although they give no adequate idea of them, they will be found interesting to our readers. Indeed to any one sufficiently raised above vulgar prejudices, whether in the form of conservative fears or Anti-Slavery extravagance, there is something in the attitude and speech of the Anti-Slavery Society, full of meaning and instruction. There is to say the least, something in the principles it adopts, capable of converting the rudest and least promising subjects into orators of burning lips. It is no spectacle to turn away thoughtlessly from, to see three persons like the three speakers on this occasion, Parker Pillsbury, a coarse, hard-handed, brown-skinned, New Hampshire farmer; Wendell Phillips, a delicate, intellectual, fastidious looking scholar, evidently of the highest social refinement; and Frederick Douglass, a curly-headed negro, recently a slave—all upon one platform, and speaking with a common intelligence, self-possession, enthusiasm, and eloquence, such as could be found perhaps no where else, even where the highest culture and the most momentous themes were united. That "eloquence is dog-cheap at the Anti-Slavery meetings," is a fact which Emerson has long ago recorded, but it would be well for us to understand why it is so. It is not because the materials for eloquence are so vast; because no wrong is so gigantic as Slavery, no indifference so unpardonable as northern insensibility to the federal sin of our common slaveholding; no appeal to God or man so backed by every sentiment of justice and mercy in our hearts, as that which pleads for three millions of oppressed brethren, whose only fault is their skin!

There will be found much extravagance, one-sidedness, and short-sightedness in the remarks of the speakers. But what causes it? Is it not the coldness and deadness of the intelligent and influential portion of the North? It is true all good men at the North call themselves now-a-days opposed to Slavery But what is the extent of their opposition? They are opposed to it in the abstract; opposed to it if it were a thing to be done over again; opposed to it if they must take sides either way, (which they need not;) opposed to it so far as not directly to support it; but not opposed to it in the sense of taking any hearty interest in its removal; of giving any precious time to its contemplation, of feeling it their duty to enlighten all within their influence; not opposed to it in a way to give slaveholders any apprehension, or slaves any hope! if all the real practical Anti-Slavery feeling of the country, that which works for, studies, and means to consummate the emancipation of the slaves—all that ought to be diffused through the North—is shut up in the bosoms of a handful of men, must they not be expected to be red-hot?—will there be room for anything but Anti-Slavery feeling in their bosoms? Will moderation, discretion, regard for other truths or interests, find any place in their minds? As the first disciples were determined to know nothing but Christ and him crucified, in a world that hated nothing so much; so the Abolitionists seem to be driven to know nothing but the duty of standing by the slave, in a community that really is vastly indifferent to his condition or rights.

As we listened to these men, with a constant sense of their imperfect logic, partial truths, extravagance, and injustice to others, we found the stone we had picked up to throw at them, dropping from a hand palsied by the recollection of the essential qualification for that office. "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone." No! the cruel silence of our pulpits, the frigid indifference of our men in place and power, the inefficiency of our ordinary neutrality, or our masterly inactivity are all so much meaner and less pardonable than the extravagance of men hurried or driven by the noblest sentiments of humanity into something like treason to the State, that we at least, though friends of law and order would rather take our chance at Christ's bar with the Abolitionist who avows disunion than with the Conservative who thinks himself to have nothing to do with the wrongs and sufferings of three millions of his fellow-creatures, fellow-countrymen and fellow Christians.

The indifference of this community to the subject of Emancipation is not to be ascribed, however falsely we may flatter ourselves, to the extravagance of its ultra advocates. At the meeting of the American [illegible] on Tuesday afternoon—a society which takes strict care to say nothing against the Constitution or the church, although we do not claim to know all good or decisive men in New York, we saw not one single face belonging to an influential member of society in this city whether clerical or lay! And the Colonization Society, to which we hurried in the evening, determined to see the three forms of opposition to Slavery on the same platform, on successive portions of the same day, had abandoned its meeting for want of interest—a lamentable commentary on the icy indifference of our community in a subject which should make the very stones cry out. Have not the Abolitionists some apology for a fiery zeal and an absorbed devotion to the one theme of immediate abolition under circumstances like these.—*New York Christian Inquirer.*

Anti-Slavery Meeting.—It appears that the Society, of which Garrison, Parker, Lucretia Mott, *et id omne genus* are the heads, cannot get along in its proper sphere—waging war against Slavery—but the speakers spend most of their time in Phillipics against the Church, and religion generally. It is very evident, that these people have some object in view, besides fully knocking off their chains. There is something positively shocking to our mind in this spirit of fanaticism. As a specimen of all the speeches, we give the following extract from Parker Pillsbury:

> "The lawyers and clergymen were mere wire-pullers, in his opinion—the creatures of the sphere in which they move—so were the manufacturers. The minister, according to his experience, and he has had a good deal, manufactures his goods for the saleable market. He manufactures his sermons, or re-writes them from books which he has purchased in the bookshops. Thus the minister may either be hunting or cock fighting all the week, and on Saturday night he purchases a book of sermons, prays to God for grace, and delivers one suitable to the locality in which he is placed, on the next Sunday. This is the fact, in his opinion; but he did not speak for any one else, and he would be happy to hear any one whose sentiments differed from his. This is the church system of the present day. Now we have to support this—we have to pay for the luxuries of the priest—we have to pay for sending his children to school and to college—to pay for his hunting and amusement—we have to pay for building churches, and yet we are told that salvation is without money or price. Yet from this, it would seem that salvation is one of the dearest articles in the American market. (Great laughter.) You know that there was a certain portion of the people who doubted whether Jesus was the Messiah, and they sent messages to him to ascertain the fact. Jesus desired to convince the Jews, so among the reasons which he gave of his divinity, was that the gospel was preached to the poor. Now, if Christ came to New York at the present time, what would he say? Do not the Churches prove that they are not of God, for they exclude the poor? Again, have you not read in the Bible that the Lord dwelleth not in temples made by hands, and yet Societies are expending two hundred thousand dollars and more in building churches made by hands. Now, what is the use of expending this money, when God declares that he does not live in them? What was the use of building Trinity or Grace Church, in face of this declaration that God does not dwell in them. Now, we see all this money expended, but did you ever hear of the Church building a house for poor people—for poor widows for instance, (God's own children) to dwell in and be comfortable? No; instead of doing this, they build these great houses for God, which he says he will not live in, which he won't live in, and which he don't want to live in. Now, how many fine, comfortable cottages would not the expense of Trinity Church have erected. Trinity Church will no doubt be a fine ruin before two hundred years, and so, no doubt, will be the religion which is preached in it."

These remarks drew out strong epithets of disapprobation, which the speaker attempted to soften by repeating the same unblushing tirade against Boston. At the bottom of all this, there is infidelity of the worst kind, while all such attempts injure the great cause of human freedom in this country, and rivet more closely, the bonds of the slave. It disgusts the more sensible part of the community; and yet they will go and hear themselves, and their churches, and their ministers abused and slandered in the most scurrilous manner. We profess to be in favour of the abolition of Slavery all over the world, but we do not believe that such demonstrations can ever produce the desired effect—the freedom of the slave.—*Syracuse Daily Star.*

New York, May 8, 1849.

The American Anti-Slavery Society met in the Tabernacle this morning at 10 o'clock—the President of the Society, Wm. Lloyd Garrison in the chair.—The morning was dark, cold and rainy, but the house was well filled with people who evidently had warm hearts beating in their bosoms.

The worthy President, on calling the meeting to order, remarked that in a good cause the benediction of God might be confidently and successfully supplicated. But the Anti-Slavery cause was not only a good one, but the best of all, and promotive of universal liberty, and we might be perfectly sure that the blessing of God would rest upon it.

Prayer was offered by the Rev. Samuel May, Jr., of Massachusetts, after which, select and appropriate passages from the sacred Scriptures were read by the President.

The presiding officer then, in a happy and appropriate manner, presented to the meeting a remonstrance from Christians in Scotland to the churches in this country, in which they administer a plain, honest, Christian rebuke to American churches for countenancing and upholding Slavery. The remonstrance was signed by John Martin and more than 1,000 others.

Francis Jackson, Esq., of Boston, presented the Treasurer's report, by which it appeared that the whole amount of receipts for the past year was $6,992, and the expenditures $6,975.

A series of resolutions, affirming the peculiar and distinctive doctrines of the Society, was read; after which, Mr. Parker Pillsbury, of New Hampshire, proceeded to address the audience in a strain of mingled argument, severity and invective, which at some points of his speech called forth mingled hisses and cheers.

He was succeeded by Wendell Phillips, Esq., of Boston, the eloquent model orator. This gentleman and Edmund Quincy are members of two of the oldest, proudest, richest families of the ancient aristocracy and *elite* of the old Bay State.

It is one of the strange events of this age that the stern old spirit of the ancient Puritan virtue, and paramount regard for duty above the conventionalities and customs of the age, should find an almost perfect representative in Wendell Phillips. I wished the whole clergy of the country could have sat under his scorching rebukes and admonitions this morning.

He is a perfect gentleman, and spoke with so much eloquence, adroitness and good nature, that the subjects of his wit and satire could not have smarted very bad while they were nearly skinned alive.

The best way for ministers and churches to escape his anathemas and denunciations is, to take a place by the side of the slave, and then they will be completely out of the range of the well polished darts that fly from his vigorous bow.

When Mr. Phillips had taken his seat, Mr. Frederick Douglass came forward amid gratifying demonstrations of applause. But the hour was so late, the audience commenced retiring, and Mr. Douglass abruptly concluded when he had but just commenced a very able speech.

The Society then adjourned to the Minerva Rooms, where they are to continue in session through to-morrow and next day.—*Correspondence of the Herkimer Freeman.*

Benevolent Societies.—Not the least among the interesting statements made at the late anniversary meetings held in this city was the annual amount of moneys collected for each. The American Tract Society shows a return of $258,440; the Bible Society, $251,870; the Home Mission, $145, 925; Foreign Missions, $110,081. Low among the estimates of receipts on the long list is that of the American Anti-Slavery Society—in other words the Abolition Society of the Union—which reports $6,992 as the amount received among twenty millions of people, and in thirty sovereign States. It tells a tale of significant meaning. From abolition and fashaken the Union to its centre—political, to nearly States and in Congress, aiming their shafts ostensibly against Slavery, but in reality against the political influence of the slave States. The most violent and inflammatory speeches have been made in Congress, and provisoes and resolutions directly aiming at the rights of the Southern States; and in the struggle, the new issues and free soil movements in this State have overturned the great democratic party of the whole Union, surrendering its power, its official patronage and all who stood on the ground of principles and national rights, to their political opponents. The smoke of the battle has cleared away, and the entire amount of offerings to eradicate Slavery throughout the land is $6,992—evidently proving that it was the name of Slavery and free soil which was used to deceive the well-meaning and true friends of the Union. It was the use made of the *name* of Slavery to array the North against the South; but when a dollar was wanting to endorse their principles it was not forthcoming. The pitiful amount subscribed was made up and came from the pockets of the sincere Abolitionists. We are glad to see it, at all events. It shows how little the masses have mingled in these organized assaults on the South. It exposes at once the hideous deformity of the leaders. No single issue of this kind can ever have but a transitory existence. If Slavery is a curse we are not cursed with it. Why pursue with fire and sword those States in the Union which are so unfortunate as to have it entailed upon them? If it is a misery, a blight—if it paralyses industry, and lays the axe at the root of morality and religion—they are the sufferers, not we. Why this constant aim at the institutions of the South? We see how it turns out. The slave States begin to buckle on their armor. Virginia has vindicated her rights, and if other states which are yet to hold elections will only profit by her example, there will be no more Wilmot provisoes or incendiary resolutions, and Congress will be compelled to let the South alone. The clouds are clearing away in every direction, and the people begin to understand the real object of this agitation. [*N. Y. Times and Messenger.*

American Anti-Slavery Society.—Mr. Garrison presided. He made no set speech but read appropriate selections from the Scriptures, condemning oppression, and in a few remarks said that the object of the Society had been to brand Slavery as a sin, and of so deep a dye, that no Christian could engage in it. He claimed for the Society the parentage of all the other Anti-Slavery Societies, which, however, kept aloof from it, because they could not fully subscribe to this great principle Christians abroad recognized it, however; and he read a remonstrance signed by 1000 laymen and ministers in Scotland, denouncing Slavery in very stringent terms. Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Lucy Stone, and W. W. Brown, (a runaway slave, and an eloquent speaker,) addressed the meeting. The funds of this Society seem to be devoted to the support of the "Standard," and amounted to $6992 57: expenses, $6975 13. Mr. Pillsbury's target was the Church. It was too wicked for him.—*Greenfield (Mass.) American Republic.*

Anti-Slavery and Theft.—Some rather startling doctrines were advanced at the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, at the Minerva Rooms. These ardent philanthropists, not content with declaiming political treason, it would appear, are gradually subsiding into the social heresies promulged by Fourier, Proudhon, and The Tribune. After Garrison, Phillips, Foster, and Abby Kelly had harangued the audience in their usual style, a Mr. West mounted the tribune and made a speech, which could only have been tolerated in America by people partially demented by fanaticism. The *Anti-Slavery Standard* prudently passes over this individual's address with a brief notice of four lines. But that his eloquence may not be entirely lost, we quote the following extract. He was preceded by Mrs. Rose, a Polish lady, who averred that people purchasing the products of Slavery were guilty of complicity with the slaveholder, and advised all to abstain from the use of slave products, as sugar, cotton, coffee, &c. Mr. West said:

> I boldly maintain that the principle which has been advanced can be put into practice, and that we can be enabled to live without paying for the products of Slavery. There exists already in New York a society to establish trade without dealing in products of slave-labour, be their slaves either hired or bought. The first of these servitudes we are called upon first to abolish: there should be no labouring for others, neither workmen nor capitalists. Every man should toil for himself alone; mankind should be upon an equal footing and enjoy the profits of a common labour. This principle I have already reduced to practice. For example: *I pay no tradesmen with whom I deal*—they are all thieves. I pay no rent to landlords. Seven months I have lived in a house in Leonard street, for which I have paid nothing, neither will I pay; there is no power in New York to turn me out of it, (applause.) I have no more *right to pay* for my lodgings than for a pair of boots. The true motto is "If you can steal in security, *you have the right to steal!*" A man has a right to furnish himself with bread, or a pair of inexpressibles' if he has need of them, for we have the right to live in this world, when *possession is theft*; merchandise is but stolen property; you ought never to purchase it, but to take it according to your wants.

Mr. West, in delivering these sentiments, without credit to the author, has proved his capacity to exercise the "right" he advocates. They are taken almost verbatim from a pamphlet of the notorious Proudhon's entitled *le Droit du vol* ("the right to steal.") These apostles of theft evidently repudiate the old proverb—"there is honor among thieves." *Era.*

American Anti-Slavery Society.—Our readers will understand that this is a Society that comes under the control of Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

The Society met at the Tabernacle at 10 o'clock. Mr. Garrison on taking the chair remarked, "Ours is a good cause, the best of causes. On any enterprise which contemplates the good of mankind, we may invoke a blessing from our Heavenly Father. That ours is such a cause, who can doubt. If any one present will volunteer to seek the Divine blessing, he now has an opportunity!"

A gentleman came forward and offered a prayer, indicating him to be a Unitarian, after which Mr. Garrison said, "Unexpectedly I am called to make a speech, and I shall take the liberty of reading from the writings of some whose characters are better established than my own." He accordingly read collated passages from the Prophets, denouncing the Jews for oppression, and especially the priests who were hirelings.

He then spoke of the unjust odium attached to their Society, and would present a remonstrance signed by more than 1000 Scotchmen and some of them ministers. This was directed to the American Church, and was an imposing document in substance and in form. It was received with considerable applause.

Edmund Quincy, Esq. read a series of resolutions for the consideration of the meeting, the substance of which will appear presently. Mr. Quincy now introduced a gentleman from Vermont, who spoke like a "fluent phraseman" all the hacknied epithets against Church and State. The resolutions against these organizations perpetrating sin against humanity and God he considered good, and he would defend them. The Church of America was corrupt, and its preachers blind guides. The clergy were to be pitied for defects of the head sufficient to cover the sins of the heart. The Church must be torn up, and no longer allowed to treat men like mere vulgar fractions, or like mere raw material, to be broken up into Presbyterians, Baptists and such like.

It is not too much to say that it was not a tirade of extreme good sense, although it made some just and happy hits. Especially the scourging he gave to a Southern clergyman, whose letter he read, was deserved and well done.

Of course the great attraction of the morning was Wendell Phillips of Boston. He is a magnificent man on the platform, and always claims attention. His style and manner, and substance, generally in perfect taste, stamp him one of the first speakers of our country. His allusions to the classics, to the rhymes of the nursery, as well as to matters of fact now occurring are thrilling, and with all these there is an earnestness which gives him respect even when pleading a bad cause. He did not introduce his remarks by any formal resolutions, but as on former occasions, the whole of his artillery was aimed at the Church. But even in a cause so distasteful to most of his audience, one could not but contrast his magnificent description of the American Church with that of the gentleman who preceded him. The American Church was no dwarf, skulking under the legs of the huge colossus of Politics, it was no shrivelled kernel, the gist of which was imperceptible, it was no peeping mutterer with feeble utterance. No. The American Church is a colossus, bestriding the Continent, and making it shake beneath her tread. When she speaks, she is heard, and should she speak to American Slaveholders, they would drop as if stricken by lightning They would stop affrighted in their business of blood. What then is the inference? The American Church is doing nothing, else there would be no debate as to whether we are Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery.

Compromise Mr. P. characterized as the American Satan, to which the dearest interests are sacrificed. The colporteur at New Orleans, in the simplicity of his nature, remembering that the Bible was given to the Hindoo and South-African, did not dream it wrong to give a Bible to a free negro in that city. He was aroused by a summons from the Court, and was told by the Judge that there were institutions "in that State which were dearer than the gospel!" He found duty was not the same there that it was in New York. This principle is too prevalent among Northern men. We must eschew the false notion, or we shall be powerless to accomplish our designs. Duty is ours, consequences are God's.

The compromises of the Constitution were lashed unsparingly, and the design of the Society proclaimed to drive men to take sides. If we can but do this—if we can but make the 250,000 Slaveholders stand alone, without their Northern crutches then shall the mighty phalanx opposed to them, tread them down without lifting even an arm. The same is true in the Church.

We have thus culled out from memory a few thoughts from this splendid speech; not because we approve their aim to demolish the Church and State, God forbid; but to give our readers a faint idea of the Demosthenes of this party of distructionists.

Frederick Douglass was now introduced, but his shining after Wendell Phillips, was as a candle at noon day. It was rash to attempt a speech under such circumstances, at so late an hour. He has much talent, but circumstances forbade long remarks.—*Cincinnati Central Watchman.*

The recent meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, held in New York, was characterized as usual, by strong and eloquent protests, against Church and State. Indeed, it was generally conceded, that these were the points of their attack. That these men, are men of uncommon intellect is too apparent for dispute; so much the more are they to be dreaded. That they are actuated by a determination as strong as death, is equally plain—and so much the more ought they to be arrested. Listen to a programme of their intentions:

> "Now our plan of reform is this: We would not seek to disguise the truth neither in its length nor breadth; but, fellow-citizens, we intend to trample under foot the laws of this community, and we call upon you to do likewise. We confess that we intend to trample under foot the Constitution of this country; we call upon you to do likewise. Shall I tell you why? You can never make a revolution in this matter until you make the common sense and the consciences of the people superior to their statute book; until you arraign against the despotism of the majority the conscientious convictions of the mass of the minority, whatever it be. Our Society rests like a pyramid on its broadest basis. In the Old World conflicting classes are jostling and clashing against each other like mighty vessels in a storm. And there perhaps you may strike out in the condition of that body a new form of things, a new national spirit, for a night, at least in permanency. But here it is far otherwise. Here the national will speaks and is obeyed; through the ballot-box, through the newspaper, through the supremacy of the majority, the national will is dominant; the majority rules and revolution is impossible, because the moment the tide reaches high enough for a revolution to be possible it ceases to be a revolution and becomes a law. There is no way of addressing this majority, then, except by an appeal against the statute to the consciences of the people—by an appeal against the law to the better principles of those that see its faults."

This is certainly plain talk, and no mistake. They "take the responsibility;"—we are free to admit, that the roots of this damning evil, are strong and deep; that their ramifications are extensive—but does not this increase the danger of uprooting them at a pull? "The essential principle of the Anti-Slavery cause," say they, is "that Slavery is a sin; and in the full spirit of Christianity, we have proclaimed that it is the duty, the immediate duty of the sinner to cease from sin." True, but the work of "ceasing to do evil and learning to do well," is gradual and progressive, and so must be the extinction of this blot upon our Constitution. Girdle the tree, and the trunk must wither; arrest its vitality, and the roots will eventually die.—(*Camden*) *West Jerseyman.*

The speakers of the occasion were Parker Pillsbury, Wendell Phillips, and Frederick Douglass. It was a general remark that the speakers were mush less vituperative than formerly, more candid in their estimate of others' motives, and more guarded in their charges and statements. Some resolutions were presented in favour of a separation from the Union; but it is well understood that they mean nothing, seeing that their authors and supporters continue to contribute voluntarily to the support of the Federal Government, by taking letters from the Post Office, and paying duties at the Custom House, or buying goods that have paid such duties. With a little more resolution to leave off saying extravagant and foolish things because they have said them before, the speeches would have been throughout, as they were in the main, beneficial to the cause for which they were made. Let them once begin to concede to others the same right of independent judgment and action that they claim for themselves; let them admit that those who differ from Mr. Garrison and his friends shall enjoy the same privilege of being judged by the amount of good they do, as Mr. Garrison and his friends challenge for themselves; let them, in blaming the sects and parties for merging the individual into the mass, be careful that they show a model spirit of tolerance to those within or without their circle who do not think or act in all points with their party; let them win confidence by showing confidence; and the splendid eloquence of a Phillips and a Douglass will work upon the body of intellect and piety it addresses in the Tabernacle with a power that shall soon move the heart of the nation for the overthrow of Slavery. Let them lay their plans now to move the hand that moulds the heart of the nation for the overthrow of Slavery. Why throw away the only power that can reach the object? Why destroy the sole instrumentality that can reach and rouse the conscience of the American people—the Pulpit and the Church?—*New York Independent.*

In giving a sketch of the late Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the Broadway Tabernacle, the New York Evangelist says:

> Of course, the great attraction of the morning was Wendell Phillips, of Boston. He is a magnificent man on the platform, and always claims attention. His style, and manner, and substance, generally in perfect taste, stamp him one of the first speakers of our country. His allusions to the classics, to the rhymes of the nursery, as well as to matters of fact now occurring are thrilling, and with all these there is an earnestness which gives him respect even when pleading a bad cause. He did not introduce his remarks by any formal resolution, but, as on former occasions, the whole of his artillery was aimed at the church. But even in a cause so distasteful to most of his audience, one could not but contrast his description of the American church with that of the gentleman who preceded him. The American Church was no dwarf, skulking under the legs of the huge colossus of Politics, it was no shrivelled kernel, the gist of which was imperceptible, it was no peeping mutterer with feeble utterance. No. The American Church is a colossus, striding the continent, and making it shake beneath her tread. When she speaks, she is heard, and should she speak to American slaveholders, they would drop as if stricken by lightning. They would stop affrighted in their business in blood. What, then, is the inference? The American church is doing nothing, else there would be no debate as to whether we are Pro-slavery or Anti-Slavery.
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> Compromise Mr. C. characterized as the American Satan, to which the dearest interests are sacrificed. The colporteur at New Orleans, in the simplicity of his nature, remembering that the Bible was given to the Hindoo and South African, did not dream it wrong to give the Bible to a free negro in that city. He was aroused by a summons from the Court, and was told by the Judge that there were institutions "in that State which were dearer than the gospel!" He found duty was not the same there that it was in New-York. This principle is too prevalent among Northern men. We must eschew the false notion, or we shall be powerless to accomplish our designs. Duty is ours, consequences are God's.
>
> The compromises of the Constitution were lashed unsparingly, and the design of the Society proclaimed to drive men to take sides. If we can but do this—if we can make the 250,000 slaveholders stand

ed; and the choice phrases from their Bible, which are now embroidered on their phylacteries are, no union—no constitution—no church—not much law.—*Correspondence of the Newark Daily Advertiser.*

REVIEW OF THE "ANNIVERSARY WEEK."

Our last number appeared in the midst of the Anniversary Meetings, which have since closed. Having been attentive and diligent hearers and observers of these exercises, we wish to give our readers, in addition to the imperfect reports of the speeches and doings of the "Anniversary Week," a general idea of the features, temper, and tendency of this important institution—for such it has become.

* * * * *

THE REFORM MEETINGS.—The meetings, as already indicated, are two classes—those for the promotion of the general interests of Religion, and those devoted to humane reforms; and these meetings are as different in the character of the conductors and audiences as in their method and spirit.

THE PLATFORM.—The platforms of the Reform Meetings are thinly sprinkled with a most mixed and motley crew of come-outers—men and women—Orthodox ministers, broken for ecclesiastical intractableness—Unitarian and Universalist ministers not always in the best odour with their respective orders—venerable Friends in plain garments—or young Quaker girls under convictions of mind strong enough to overcome two natural shrinkings of maidenly reserve—coloured men in affectionate proximity with their white-skinned brethren—all, in short, persons marked by evident enthusiasm of character and devotion to ideas.

THE AUDIENCE.—The audience is not less marked. There are not many rich, not many mighty there. With a few exceptions, it is composed of the common people; and not merely of well-dressed common people, but in considerable part of coarse, ill-clad, toil-stained people—many, indeed, possessing independent, thoughtful, and earnest faces, but many more attracted mainly by the popular character of the speaking. It is probable that three-quarters of the audiences at these meetings are mere lovers of earnest talk or high debate—while the other quarter are zealous, thorough-going devotees to certain principles involved in the articles of the Society.

CONDUCT OF THE REFORM MEETINGS.—The method of conducting these meetings, again, is very different from that of the other class. There is prodigious freedom, zeal, and eloquence, great spontaneousness and freshness, no appearance of wire-pulling, few cut-and-dried speeches—and a directness, reality, and earnestness, which engages everybody's attention and feelings, either for or against what is said. It is manifest at a glance, that there are very few people, such as the world calls religious, present. The democracy of thought and feeling sends all the delegates, with the exception of a few who are there to spy out the land. All old-fashioned people, quiet, conservative, reserved, who think that Society and the Church, and Law and Order, are worth something, stay away. The speaking is passionate, aggressive, offensive on principle—the speakers, it is manifest, are unqualifiedly committed to the special point or topic they embrace. They are thoroughly, terribly in earnest. The only Abolitionists of any real account, those who keep up the agitation and produce the effects, the only ones who, as a class, occupy any sure and tenable ground, the Ultra ones—who now go openly and heartily for disunion, and deride and decry the Church with might and main, would just as soon, judging from the spirit manifested, throw aside or trample on the Bible if they found it in their way, as on the Constitution. It is not respect for the Bible that makes them quote its authority, but because it is useful to their cause. Lucretia Mott said, indeed, she thought many Anti-Slavery documents quite as much to be reverenced as many portions of the Bible. We do not state this in the way of disparagement, but to give an idea of the entire consecration of these people to the reform idea they take up. Thus, we heard a young man, whose every word and motion indicated a vanity amounting almost to insanity, arguing most lustily, ingeniously, and even forcibly, for the Scriptural argument against capital punishment, when it was impossible not to feel that if the Scriptures had been the other way, his headlong zeal would have found little difficulty in disparaging their authority.

SPIRIT AND TENDENCY.—We remarked with great satisfaction, a considerable improvement this year in decency and moderation in the Ultra Reform meetings. Although a melancholy ministry is there offered to the prejudices and passions of ardent, imagining minds, and the spirit of individual pride, of rash innovation, of disregard for all authority, is dangerously encouraged—so that we should expect many of the most delighted hearers there to be the most active agents in such a mob as has lately disgraced our city—yet we conceive that the manifest simplicity, disinterested devotion, and unrivalled patience of the leaders of these movements, produce real and beneficial effects upon another class of minds; and amid the cold and selfish conservatism, and the culpable indifference to established wrongs, where they happen to be rooted in with valuable interests, the dreadful permanency of political compromises made in moral darkness—the acquiescence of the public in the lead of prudent and cautious minds, that are, by social station and every other condition, pledged not to see very far ahead, and not to agitate difficult questions of duty—we say that such a class have, in such a state of society, an important office. We are among those who believe that the Ultra Abolitionists have created the present state of improved and enlightened moral feeling in regard to Slavery; and if the Gallows is abolished as a relic of barbarism, War ceases, it will be under God, because fanatics have consecrated themselves to these great objects with a zeal and power which have gradually waked the public ear and won its heart.

It is unnecessary to speak of the distinguished eloquence of the men who advocate these causes. As popular speakers, the world has never seen their superiors, probably not, as a class, their equals. We could only wish that instead of speaking to a crowd of persons already in agreement with their views, or else mere unthinking recipients or resistants of their statements, they had addressed the intelligence, the influence, and the established worth of the community. We doubt not that nine tenths of all the real sense of the country is so utterly engrossed in its own concerns, as to be wholly ignorant of what these men have to say for themselves—and so they calmly set down as fanatical fools, the over-zealous advocates and forerunners of reforms which are destined, as sure as Justice lives, to a final triumph which shall crown with everlasting honour the despised men who now bear the odium and contempt of all the wise and prudent. The extravagance, the conceit, the folly of men like Garrison and Phillips, will be forgotten; their courage, disinterestedness, fidelity, and patience will remain, and be everlastingly associated with the overthrow of the greatest iniquity and curse that ever lay upon our people.—*Christian Inquirer.*

"EXTREMES MEET."—We have often had occasion in noticing, as public journalists, the ultraisms of the day, to call attention to the fact that there exist in different sections of the Union, associated bodies of men, labouring in apparently opposite directions to accomplish the same object. We refer to the ultra-Calhoun sect of politicians at the South, and the so-called "National Anti-Slavery Society" at the North. Both openly avow their leading object to be the dissolution of the Union. While the members of the former body were holding a State Convention at the Capital of South Carolina, denouncing the Union, and threatening its dissolution in case it should, in its legitimate workings, tend to weaken the power and influence of Slavery, their co-labourers at the North were engaged in the same work for reasons directly the opposite, viz: that the Union encourages, promotes and protects the cherished institution of the South. There is a marvellous coincidence in their opinions, not only in relation to the value of the Union, but in regard to other questions of public policy, which have for years agitated the Republic. For example: the *Columbia Telegraph*, published at the place where the recent Disunion Convention was held, discourses in the following strain:

"A continuance in the Union as it is will *ruin us politically* and *pecuniarily*, and corrupt us *morally*. We cannot remain so intimately connected with any people without partaking of their vices; or, in other words, 'we cannot touch filth without being defiled.' In the event of secession, the South, profiting by the experience of the past, with a common interest binding them together with hooks of steel, with free trade with all the world, and her peculiar institutions undisturbed, many unite in a Southern Confederacy without convulsion, and pursue her manifest destiny, her onward march to greatness and glory, the admiration if not the envy of the world."

Now hear the National Anti-Slavery Society:

"Resolved. That that which is giving strength, extension and perpetuity to Slavery—to wit, THE UNION—on being overthrown by a peaceful withdrawal from it by the non-slaveholding States, for conscience sake and for self-preservation, must necessarily weaken, limit, and speedily extirpate Slavery from the American soil. Therefore,

"Resolved. That the motto of every Christian and of every patriot should be, 'No union with slaveholders, either religiously or politically.'

"Resolved, That this is not a question of expediency on which action may be innocently deferred 'till a more convenient season,' but one of absolute morality, of obedience to God and fidelity to mankind, to be met and carried out to the letter without delay."

The Southern faction are ready to overturn the Constitution, provided it is not construed to favour their cause. In this work they have the aid of their Northern friends. Hear Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS, a leader in the Northern band:

"WE CONFESS THAT WE INTEND TO TRAMPLE UNDER FOOT THE CONSTITUTION OF THIS COUNTRY; WE CALL UPON YOU TO DO LIKEWISE. Shall I tell you why? You can never make a revolution in this matter until you make the common sense and the consciences of the people superior to their statute book; until you arraign against the despotism of the majority the conscientious convictions of the mass of the minority, whatever it be."

Much as these Abolitionists profess to hate slave labour and its products—some of them having carried their zeal so far as to reject the use of certain fabrics on that account—they cordially unite with the South in denouncing all laws for the protection of free domestic industry. Nay, the very establishments that give employment and a respectable livelihood to three millions at the North, are stigmatized in terms more reproachful and bitter than the outpourings of Southern malice, and their owners degraded to the level of the drivers on slave plantations. To show that we do not exaggerate, we quote WENDELL PHILLIPS again:

"That is the error of American politics. We have forced the Democratic party out of the field, the original ally of the slave power. We have sent the Whigs into an alliance with Southern slaveholders. It is a natural alliance. It is the Lords of the *Lash* and the Lords of the *Loom* associated."—(applause and hisses).

When we hear these words from a New Englander, can we wonder at the following opinions from South Carolina?

"Were it not that we have suffered so long, and are still smarting under the accumulated and *accumulating insults and injuries of New England*, I could weep for the folly and madness of her people, the ruin they are working for themselves. They, however, have sown the seeds of the tempest, and must reap the whirlwind. If true to ourselves, we are safe in any event, more particularly that of secession."

We might multiply extracts to show the nice coincidence of opinions between these two bodies of individuals, seeking the accomplishment of a common object through different channels, but these will suffice at present. Neither party represent the public sentiment of their sections, and standing alone, produce no effect upon the public mind. The most the Northern Association can do is to irritate the South, and furnish it with weapons for political warfare; while the Southern faction, without influence at home, is held in derison abroad. As an anomally or paradox, their eccentric movements are worthy of record, and might be to those who have the leisure, a profitable subject of metaphysical investigation.—*Rochester Democrat.*

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW-YORK: THURSDAY MAY 31, 1849.

Advertisement.

The NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD is published on Thursday of every week by The AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY at its office, 142 Nassau street, New York.

As the object of the Society is the ABOLITION OF AMERICAN CHATTEL SLAVERY, which is sustained, and can exist only, by virtue of a corrupt public sentiment, so the purpose of the Society's Organ, the STANDARD, is to establish the great truth, by facts of experience, and appeals to reason and common sense, that Slavery is economically, politically, morally, and religiously, a gigantic error, and a sin of the deepest dye, and should, therefore, be immediately, totally, and unconditionally abandoned. It enforces the duty of secession from the body of a Church which palliates or defends such a system, and repudiates a Union whose common bond is the oppression of one sixth of the people.

It is the aim of those to whose management the paper is entrusted to make it, not only a faithful and earnest exponent of the highest Anti-Slavery sentiment of the country, but also a complete history of the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause. A portion of its columns is always devoted to selections from other papers, both Northern and Southern, presenting, so far as it is presented through the public press, the pro-slavery or Anti-Slavery complexion of the different sections of the Union.

It is designed also to be a good *family newspaper*, and contains always a brief synopsis of the most important current intelligence. Its fourth page is exclusively of a literary character, and is carefully collated from the best Foreign and Domestic Publications.

The STANDARD is edited by JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, EDMUND QUINCY, and SYDNEY HOWARD GAY. Mr. Gay is the resident editor, and its chief management is entrusted to him. Each number of the paper will contain an article in the editorial columns from either Mr. Quincy or Mr. Lowell over their proper initials.

RICHARD D. WEBB of Dublin, whose letters to the *Standard* have excited so much attention hitherto, for their just and discriminating view of Irish affairs, and for their general great ability and interest, will continue a regular correspondent of the paper.

Its price is $2 per annum, and the Executive Committee confidently and earnestly commend it to the patronage of the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and all all opponents of American Slavery, as worthy, both for its object and its character, of their support

Volume X---Number I.

It gives us great satisfaction to present the *Standard* to our readers, this week, in a new dress,—a satisfaction damped, however, by disappointment in not securing in season for this number a new head also. We are heartily glad to be rid of our shabby appearance, though feeling still very much like one in an entire new suit of clothes, but with a shocking bad hat. In the next number, however, we trust again to deserve the reputation which, notwithstanding our very slovenly look for the last year or two, still lingers about us, of being one of the handsomest papers printed in this country.

With this 1st. No. of a new volume, with new type, and an important addition to our editorial force, we come out also with a new advertisement, to which we specially call the attention of our readers. It contains, we believe, all that need absolutely be said to convey a true idea of the character and purpose of the paper, and may, perhaps, we trust, will induce some of our friends to seek an addition to our subscription list, when thus saved the trouble of telling what sort of a paper it is for which they are soliciting. We are confident that the circulation of the paper could be easily doubled if an effort was made to that end by those only of our subscribers who feel, or profess to feel a warm interest in its welfare, and a strong persuasion of the importance of its being sustained.

Our list of exchanges is a very large one, and increasing weekly. It is in itself no slight tax. But we shall not make the insertion of our advertisement the price of an exchange, as it is the wish of the Executive Committee of the American Society that the paper be as universally read as possible by those who exercise an influence over the public mind; nevertheless should any of our contemporaries, who value the paper for its literary or its Anti-Slavery character, give the advertisement an insertion in their columns they will receive our hearty thanks. We conceive that the Press owes us a large debt for the unnumbered pilferings which are weekly committed upon our columns, and for the great quantity of miscellaneous matter which is first launched from our 4th Page upon the sea of American newspapers, and we shall be glad to find that the honest portion is disposed to atone for the wrong of the dishonest, and that a general benefit will be acknowledged by a particular favour in return.

Farther we might say, but the Salutatory which follows immediately from the pen of our now regular, and always able coadjutor, Mr. Edmund Quincy, contains all that need be said upon the subject.

The Standard.

With this Number begins the tenth year of the *Standard*. For thrice three years has it been the symbol to the Nation of the existence of an organized and embattled opposition to Slavery. It has been literally, and not metaphorically merely, the Standard of the Cause. It has been the sign to foes and friends, that the Ship was not yet given up, that the crew was resolute—desperate, if you please,—and that the battle would be maintained as long as men and ammunition were left on the one side and the enemy on the other. It was first unfurled to the winds in a dark and evil hour. The officers to whose charge the direction of the attack upon Slavery had been committed had mutinied and deserted. They had piratically ran off with the good flag entrusted to them, and used the influence of its name and the stores it covered, to shelter their own ignominious flight, and to protect the allies whom they had in common with the enemy, whose comfort and preservation they esteemed of more consequence than the discomfiture and defeat of the foe itself. In that evil hour, as it then seemed, in the midst of the confusion and doubt which filled men's minds, the new Standard was run to the mast-head, the good Ship righted as soon as honest hands were felt upon the helm, her head turned instinctively in the right direction, her batteries thundered away at open enemies and treacherous friends, and she has ever since gallantly kept on her due course, her meteor flag braving many a battle and many a breeze.

"Throw sunshine on her joyously; ye breezes waft her wide,
Our glorious *Semper Eadem*, the banner of our pride."

While the pilfered and prostituted flag, after many a scurvy adventure, ragged and dirty, draggles at the tail of an hermaphrodite political craft, ominous of disaster and defeat.

To drop the allegory, the establishment and support of the Standard have been among the most prezuant proofs of vitality and tenacity of life that the Abolitionists, have ever shown. Begun without a single subscriber, at a time when the Movement Proper was betrayed and deserted by almost all who had seemed to be its incarnate embodiment, its property made away with, its character maligned, its supporters slandered—"their life's life lied away,"—it has been maintained without interruption for nine years, and we hope will continue to wrestle with the storm as long as the existence of Slavery compels into being the antagonist entity of Abolitionism. The importance of the Organ of a Combination against any public iniquity, is to be very imperfectly measured by its subscription list, and indeed is, in some measure, independent of it. The utterer of unpalatable doctrine, of hated truth, was never yet popular. If he escape such martyrdom as his age deals in, at least he cannot expect it to afford him a comfortable support. If it will lend him its ears, and that grudgingly, it is all that he can hope for. But there must be a Voice to cry in the Wilderness, "Repent and flee from the Wrath to come," although locusts and wild honey must be its meat. The scattered labours of our little remnant of war-worn veterans, invaluable and all essential as they are, are almost lost sight of in the immensity of their field. They need a central organ to magnify their office and to proclaim and record their successes. Men require some single point to which to look to know whether the Anti Slavery Movement has still an existence, and what are the proofs of vitality that it is affording.—The flag at the mast-head of a man-of-war may be but an inconsiderable piece of bunting; but it is the emblem of nationality, and gives friends and foes to know whether it holds its own or whether it has yielded to the enemy.

The soundness of this philosophy has been proved by the history of all assaults upon the strongholds of national and social crime. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society during its days of life, previous to the Abolition of British Slavery, (since which time it has had a name to live, but has been worse than dead), depended on the contributions of Abolitionists for the support of its Organ and Publications. So with the efforts for the suppression of Intemperance, War, Capital Punishment, and other public evils on both sides of the water. Probably in no instance has the organ of any Society gathered for the removal of these, or analogous evils, sustained itself by sales and subscriptions. And this for the obvious reason that men will not pay for the rebukes of their darling sins. But which of those Movements could have had any abiding effect or continuing influence had it not been for the Medium through which each spoke to the World? We believe the Standard has done as well in this respect, taking into consideration the vastly greater obstacles it has had to encounter, as any of its contemporaries of a Reforming character. Nay, better. For the odiousness of the truths it enunciates has been, in an unusual degree, compensated for by the ability which has marked its editorial conduct, and the sterling excellence of the matter it has contained. Thousands and tens of thousands read it who do not pay for it, and to the press, far and wide, South as well as North, it is the chief channel through which Anti Slavery light and influence flows.—The Abolitionists are obliged to furnish their food to the hungry, not merely, in many cases, without money and without price, but even to send out and compel them to come in on those terms.

To make an attack upon the most cherished institution of a great nation, one which it has encompassed in the arms of its ecclesiastical and its secular love, can never be a popular or a profitable occupation. Those who are desirous of making money, or of gaining office, or of living comfortably with their neighbours and the world had better direct their attention elsewhere. Our clients are the down-trodden and spoiled of the race, and silver and gold have they none to reward our services withal. Nay, their advocate must make up his mind before he engages in their cause, to take his place by their side, and be little more esteemed of men than they. Social consideration is no part of the inducement to enlist in the Anti-Slavery warfare; it is part of the contribution each is called upon to make in its support. The rewards and satisfactions which wait upon Anti-Slavery fidelity, are of another nature. These are to be found in the clearness of vision which discerns a great national crime in its true nature, and in the strength which enables them to cry aloud and spare not, against it. In the consciousness that they have attained to the knowledge of the true way of deliverance for their People from the wrath which it has been treasuring up against the day of wrath. The consciousness that they have not withheld this knowledge from the ears of the people, but that they have been instant in season and out of season in reiterating it in their ears whether they would bear or whether they would forbear. The consciousness of the perception and the performance of a difficult duty, and the sense that the portion of contemporary history, which they are busy in developing is the only one in this country, of a permanent and abiding interest,—whose issues are issues of life or death, and which will extend to the remotest ages of the world.

We see in every direction the acknowledged indications that we have understood our business and done it well. The continual dropping has made some impression even on the stone of the American heart. The ears of the People have been at least partially unstopped, that they should hear the cry of the captive, and their eyes forced open that they should discern some portion of their own guilty complicity with the oppressor. Ecclesiastical bodies and political parties have been compelled to assume a virtue if they had it not. Slight quakings on the surface tell of more tumultuous heavings in the depths below. Congress has been converted into an arena of Anti-Slavery discussion. The silence of death which once brooded over the nation has been broken. The champions of Slavery are forced into the lists. They can no longer wrap themselves in the dignity of a contemptuous silence. The guantlet is thrown down, and they must either take it up or cry craven. The insolent common-places of pro-slavery with which the Northern ear was insulted a few years ago, are now almost unheard. The people have been made comparatively intelligent of the nature and effects of Slavery, in their own despite. Indirectly we have been the means of changing the dynasty that reigns over the land. The result, to be sure, which substituted a Tyrant for a Sychophant on the throne was none of our seeking; but the fact shows that the effects of long Anti-Slavery labours are beginning to be recognized among the elements of political fermentation. We have made the cauldron seethe, and it matters little what scum is first eleminated to the surface. The agitation is the main thing. If it be maintained the purification will follow by the inevitable operation of physical and moral law.

These effects have been the result of means. Means, to be sure, strangely inadequate, to all human seeming, to the effect produced. The means have been unceasing and untiring agitation. Agitation in State Legislatures, in Ecclesiastical Assemblies, in Congress, produced by Agitation by the fire-side, by the way-side, in the town-hall, in the District School house. Agitation by the voice of the living speaker and by the mute eloquence of the press. These instrumentalities have lost none of their efficiency. The field of their operations is widened by the partial removing of landmarks and throwing down of partitions. Ears that were formerly sealed are now willing to hear. Eyes that once refused to see will now look and read. It is the business of the Abolitionists to see to it that judicial blindness and deafness do not again supervene through their negligence. As a most important part of this business, we commend to them all, everywhere, the extension of the circulation of the *Standard*. In the remoter parts of the country the interests of the paper must be mainly left in the hands of its local friends. The small body of agents which the Executive Committee will be able to direct to this work must devote themselves to the attempt to obtain a local support for the paper in Eastern New York. Let the Abolitionists, and all subscribers who value an exclusively Anti-Slavery paper, see to it, that the *Standard* suffers no detriment through their neglect. Let them continue their own subscriptions, collect those in their neighbourhood, and procure additional subscribers. Much, we know from personal experience, can be done in this way. Enough to keep the present list whole, and to make the subscriptions obtained by special efforts a clear gain. Let every one bring this home to his own business and bosom, and give a very moderate share of time and attention to it, and a great and beneficent work will be done.—E. Q.

Disunion Convention in South Carolina.

A State Convention of the Committees of Safety, as they are called, was held on Monday, the 14th instant, in the Capitol at Columbia, S. C. and a full report of its proceedings appears in several of the papers of that State. There were thirty different localities represented, we presume either parishes or counties, and the list of delegates from these sections numbers about one hundred and twenty. Among them, however, we observe some of the most distinguished names in the State.

The first day of the meeting was taken up in appointing Committees, presenting and submitting Resolutions, and other preliminary business, but on the second day the serious work began in the reporting from the principal Committee, the following string of Resolutions as having been unanimously adopted by that Committee. The Resolutions are as follows:

RESOULTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF 21.

Resolved, That a full and deliberate examination of the whole subject has forced a deep conviction on the Delegates of the Committee of Safety here assembled, from the several Districts and Parishes in the State, that alarming and immediate peril is hanging over the Institutions and sovereign rights of the slaveholding States, caused by unconstitutional and mischievous interference with our domestic Slavery and the rights of slaveholders on the part of the people of the North, their Legislatures, Courts, and Representatives in Congress; and by withholding from them the aids and remedies guaranteed by the Constitution. That arguments and appeals to cease and abstain from this course of unprovoked wrong and insult, have been exhausted in unavailing efforts, which have only been followed by repetitions of injury, and aggressions more alarming, persevered in with an appearance of concert and determination, which leaves us no alternative but abject and humiliating submission, or a like concert and determination in maintaining our constitutional rights and in defending our property and persons thus wantonly put in danger. That South Carolina should stand prepared, as she now is, to enter into councils, and other Southern and Southwestern States in this emergency, which the preservation of their common honour, sovereignty and constitutional privileges demands, and to maintain them at every hazard, and to the last extremity—and that, in view of this alarming condition of public affairs, a Central State Committee of Vigilance and Safety, to consist of Five members, be now raised by ballot, to correspond with other Committees and persons in this and other States with a view to such concerted and united measures as may be expedient in any emergency that may arise.

2. Resolved, That we entirely approve "The Address of Southern Delegates in Congress to their Constituents," and the wise and patriotic course of those Senators and Representatives who signed the same.

3. Resolved, That we confide implicitly in the wisdom and firmness of the State authorities for maintaining our Constitutional rights, equality and honour, and that we heartily approve the course hitherto adopted by them, in relation to the aggressions of the non-slaveholding States.

4. Resolved, That we would regard the passage by Congress of the Wilmot Proviso, or any measure for abolishing Slavery or the slave-trade or the admitting slaves to vote in the District of Columbia, or of any equivalent measure as a direct attack upon the institutions of the slaveholding States, and as such to be resisted by them at every hazard; and that it either be the duty of the Governor he and he is hereby requested to convene the Legislature if it is not in session, to consider the mode and measure of redress.

5. Resolved, That we do concur in and adopt the Resolutions which have twice been confirmed by the Legislature of Virginia, as containing the clearest exposition of the rights and duties of the several States, feeling and believing that she will continue firm and resolute in maintaining what she has announced with so much wisdom and deliberation, and that the liberties, honour and interest, of the slaveholding States, will be safe under her lead.

These were subsequently unanimously adopted by the Convention, so we are to understand that in case the North persists in her unconstitutional and mischievous interference with Slavery and the rights of slaveholders—in her course of unprovoked wrong and insult—in repetitions of injury—in alarming aggressions—in wantonly putting persons and property in danger—and in case of an attack directly upon the institution of the slaveholding States, or by passing the Wilmot Proviso, why *then*—South Carolina will esteem it a very alarming condition of affairs, and requests the Governor to convene the Legislature to *consider* what is to be done about it! In the name of Gen. Quattlebum! is that all?

We copy from the Hamburg, South Carolina, *Republican*, a sketch of the debate which ensued on the resolutions, from which we infer that the speakers are as ready to go "to the death" against the Wilmot Proviso, as those who said they would, but did't do any such thing for Gen. Hamilton's sugar, some fifteen years ago:

—Mr. Elmore prefaced the presentation of these resolutions by some impressive and eloquent remarks. He stated that after a full and free conference in Committee on the various propositions submitted to them, they had all finally agreed to adopt the resolutions just presented. All of those resolutions aimed at the same end, the more perfect union of the South, for resistance to the infractions of the Constitution on the part of the North, and after mature deliberation it was thought that object could best be attained by the measures indicated. There was but one feeling and one sentiment pervading the members of that assembly, which felt far more than it cared to utter. He exhorted all present to merge all minor differences in the one great object of concert, and trusted that the adoption of these resolutions might be unanimous. [We do not pretend to give more than a mere outline of his remarks which were listened to with great interest and attention.]

The first resolution was then taken up, and pending its progress Mr. Strobhart, in a strong, direct and forcible manner, urged the propriety and necessity of presenting a strong front to the aggressions of the North. He dwelt with much earnestness on the present state of feeling among our people, who were determined at any hazard to resist the wrongs and injuries complained of, and thought that an expression of that feeling might well be appended to that resolution. South Carolina sought co-operation, hoped for it, and believed that her sisters were as ready as herself—but in any respect of the case, and under any difficulties and dangers she would scorn to submit, and he thought it as well to say so.

Mr. Black followed in reply, and pressed the adoption of the original resolutions as the most advisable. No one doubted the readiness of Carolina to do all that becomes her under any and every circumstance—her citizens felt more on this subject, than they could put in words, and as the object of this Convention was to confer on the best means of obtaining concert and co-operation between herself and her Southern sisters, it was unnecessary to touch on any other points, than her readiness to co-operate.

Mr. Perry strongly sustained a similar view. He was for strong measures, and thought that enough of declaration had already been made, and that action must soon be resorted to. For his own part he had long wished, and still desired a Southern Convention, but deferred to the wishes of his friends in not pressing its immediate call. That such a step would finally be taken, he entertained no doubt. The Resolutions proposed, paved the way for ascertaining the sentiments of the Southern States, as to their views on this subject.

Mr. Pope thought that the appointment of the Executive Committee was only making more machinery; for the same results could be effected through other channels already existing. In the general scope and aim of the proposer of that Resolution however, he heartly concurred.

Mr. Elmore and Mr. Huger advocated the creation of such a Central Committee, and gave the reasons which induced them to deem its functions important—acting as a medium of communication with other States.

Mr. Spain then submitted an additional amendment which he advocated with spirit and eloquence. He spoke in language of stern truthfulness of the realities of our position, and the duties which devolved upon us—he traced in a rapid and vigorous manner the onward course and growth of Northern aggression, insult and rapine, and deprecated the idea that in this great cause of common safety any Southern State should suspect or be jealous of a sister. He was for no Southern State assuming the lead—but felt that they would all find themselves side by side in the great struggle now so near.

He concluded by indicating what in his judgment, and that of those whom he represented, was the most prompt, efficient and certain remedy.

Mr. Eaves also gave strong utterance to the sentiments of Chester, and in his usual impassioned manner, expressed the feelings of the patriot and the soldier on the duties and sacrifices soon to be required of all true hearted Southerners.

The question was then taken on the first Resolution which was adopted without one dissenting voice.

The 2d 3d and 4th Resolutions were then separately proposed, and unanimously concurred in without any comments or discussion.

The last resolution excited some discussion—all of the most amicable character, and more in the nature of a conference than of discussion—for where there existed such a perfect concurrence of feeling as to the object, the mode of attaining it could not excite controversy.

Mr. Hutson proposed an additional clause to the last Resolution, further expressive of the determination of our people to resist at all and every hazard, and took the opportunity of indicating in a most masterly manner as the true policy of our State and of the South, the adoption of the strongest measures. He earnestly deprecated even the appearance of irresolution as productive of the most fatal consequences to our relations with the North, as it might deceive them into a false security.

They should know where Carolina stands, side by side with the Old Dominion, whose Resolutions she was now re-affirming. On this great issue there could and should be no questions of precedence—all had an equal stake, and all should stand up and maintain their own just rights.

Those whom he represented were prepared for any emergency that might arise, and at all times and under all circumstances would be found ready.

Mr. McCord followed in a speech replete with fact and fancy, argument and ridicule—ranging "from gay to grave, from lively to severe"—now dilating on the insults and injuries inflicted on the South, and now exposing the ignorance and hypocracy of our assailants.

His remarks excited much interest and though extended to some length kept his auditors attentive throughout.

When he had concluded, the question was taken on the last Resolution, which was adopted unanimously.

A Resolution was introduced by Mr. Thompson, returning thanks to certain gentlemen for their efforts in behalf of Southern rights, which after some litte discussion between the mover and Messrs. Moses and Eaves, was withdrawn by the former.

Mr. Eaves, at this stage of the proceedings, proposed the following additional Resolution, (independent of those already adopted,) which was agreed to:

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to the several Districts and Parishes, as an essential measure, to preserve and perfect their organization as Committees of Vigilance and Safety, for the purpose of correspondence and concert of action and especially to exert themselves to spread useful information before the people, and to detect and bring to justice all offenders against our peace and institutions.

Mr. Herndon then moved the appointment of a Committee of 21 to nominate suitable persons to constitute the Executive Committee of Five, which was agreed to, and a recess of half an hour taken, until the Committee should be ready to report.

On re-organizing, the following gentlemen were nominated, balloted for, and elected:

F. H. Elmore, Chairman, Wade Hampton, D. J. McCord, James Gadsden, F. W. Pickens.

The Chairman having vacated the Chair, Mr. Means submitted a Resolution returning the thanks of the Convention to the venerable President, who on resuming the Chair, responded in a feeling and impressive manner, after which, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

Capping the Volcanoe.

The Presbyterian General Assembly—New School—has been in session during the past week, in Philadelphia, and the plague of the question of Slavery was, of course let loose upon it. A large number of memorials upon the subject were presented by Dr. Beman, the Chairman of the Committee, before which such papers come,—among them one from the Presbytery of Pa. asking a pastoral letter; another, to the same purport, from the Presbytery of Indiana; another from the Presbytery of Palestine, threatening withdrawal unless some decisive action were taken upon the subject. A motion was made to refer them to a special Committee, after which a debate ensued, a sketch of which we find in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*:

Rev. Dr. Leach opposed this motion, on the ground that the evil had already done all it had the power to do. There would be an expression of opinion, on the part of this assembly, that not enough has been done, and that something more must be done, and would seem to be siding with some of the memorialists. He deprecated agitation, and earnestly plead for the Union and peace of the Church, and thought the South should be left to remove Slavery in its own way and time. He said that no Southern Presbytery or church would consent to discipline slaveholders, and a law requiring it would drive them from the Assembly, and if they should attempt to obey such an act of the Assembly they would be acting in direct conflict with the laws of the land. "Are we in the South," he continued, "to rise up and say that the Governor, the Legislature, and all who are in authority in our State, are officers executing sinful laws, sinful in all their relations; that they, themselves, are sinful in all their civil and gubernatorial capacities? And we must undertake that ungracious and unsuccessful office, and render ourselves obnoxious to the laws of the land, and be under the necessity, every minister of us, of abandoning our pulpits. Every minister would be immediately compelled to leave the State. Every man who undertakes to carry out the mandate of this House, and act under the laws you may enact, will fall within one week—one hour—who attempts to act on the principles of these memorials."

He concluded by "affectionately entreating" them to take no action on the subject and repeating his predictions of distraction and division, as though *unity* was the first and great aim of the Church, and purity a merely secondary matter.

Dr. Beman, (O, the doughface!) "felt the propriety of what had fallen from the lips of his reverend brother from Virginia.

He need not say what he thought of Slavery. He had confidence yet in this House, and if they got the largest liberty of thinking, and the subject were put into the hands of a judicious committee, who should report on it calmly, this body, like Christian men, would get through it without much debate, and he trusted in good temper."

The motion to appoint a select Committee of seven, was here put and carried.

This Committee was appointed on Monday by the Chairman, and consisted of Rev. Drs. Beman and Hall, and Rev. Messrs. Spear, McMillan and Post, and Elders Fairchild and Wilkinson.

On Satuday last, the last day of the Assembly, this Committee reported, and the result we copy from the Philadelphia *North American*, of that day. The synopsis is very brief, and perhaps incorrect; but if truly given, we shall await with anxiety the report of the proceedings of the Old School assembly now in session at Pittsburg, to see whether it can equal its daughter in the stupendous lie, that the assembly knows of no members of the Church participating in buying and selling slaves, in undue severity to them, or in the separation of families. It could have probably found dozens of its own members there present, who habitually do all these things. But even if the assertion were true, it is a mere dodging of the question. The guilt of Slavery is in its essence, not its accidents, but that question is just the one which the Assembly did not choose to consider. The report of the *American* is as follows:

The special committee on the subject of Slavery made a report, which was received with much solemnity, the impression seeming to prevail that trouble was to be anticipated from the agitation of the matter. The report was upon memorials from four synods, thirteen presbyteries, one church, and one individual, all asking the freeing of the Church from all participation in the sin of Slavery, one presbytery even threatening secession, unless something was done for that purpose. The report was quite an able one; recommending that the action of all the former Presbyterian Assemblies be reiterated, and from the extracts they made from the minutes on the subject, they educed the following propositions, which they recommended to the adoption of the Assembly:

1st. The right of man to civil liberty.

2d. Slavery is unrighteous and opposed to the interests of all concerned in it.

3d. The duty of Christians to use all righteous endeavours to effect the extirpation of the evil.

4th. Enjoining upon Christians to abstain from buying and selling slaves, undue severity to them, or the separation of the members of families, by any act of theirs.

5th. The Assembly knows of no members of the Church participating in the evils alluded to, but if there are any, the attention of the proper church judicatories is called to the same.

The report was received with general favour, and a motion was made to adopt it.

Pending this, Rev. Mr. Bassett offered the following substitute:

Resolved, That Slavery is a great sin before God and man, and should be treated by the Church in the same way as other gross immoralities.

Upon this resolution he addressed the Assembly at length, giving a wide scope to his remarks on the vices of Slavery.

Mr. Bassett spoke until the hour of the adjournment of the morning session.

In the afternoon the debate was resumed, and several speeches, remarkable for fervid eloquence, were delivered by Chief Justice Hornblower, and Rev. Messrs. Beecher, Bullard and others, after which the vote was taken, and the substitute of Mr. Bassett was lost, and the original report was adopted by a very large majority.

Mr. Tyler of Mississippi, offered an additional resolution, but afterward withdrew it.

☞ The first page of this week's *Standard* is filled with such comments by Northern newspapers upon the late Annual Meeting as have come under our notice, in addition to those which we published in the last number. They are all well worth reading, as an index to the public sentiment toward the, confessedly, only movement aiming at the abolition of American Slavery, but one more amusing, if not more virulent, than any of them occurs in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. With the stupidly conservative character of this paper—conservative of every thing established, no matter whether good or bad—everybody in Massachusetts is familiar; it is equally notorious for never waking up to a sense of what is transpiring about it, till the rest of the community have almost forgotten it. Somebody has compared it to the Poor Man's Plaster—as good for a *weak* (week) *back*. It certainly, this time, may announce that "no other paper has the news." Its leader in the number for Friday last, thus commences:

COMMON SENSE AND FANATICISM.—In publishing a few days since the letter of Mr. Benton upon the subject of Slavery in our newly acquired territories, we took occasion to compare the good sense of the Western Senator with the ultraism of his Senatorial brother from South Carolina, and to rejoice in the fact that the former was the best expositor of the will of the people. In publishing another letter from the same Senator upon this subject, we cannot refrain from comparing it with another class of ultraism, which has recently given an exhibition of itself in our neighbourhood. The following letter of Mr. Benton to a committee of citizens of St. Louis, gives a farther exposition of his views upon the Slavery question, and shows that he views it as a statesman and not as a partizan:

We have not room for the letter of Mr. Benton which follows, and its subject moreover is one which we should not, had the not "Dignified Daily"—as the friends of the *Advertiser* delight to call it—informed us, have suspected as having anything to do with the cause to which the *Standard* is devoted. Indeed at the risk of being pronounced stupid we must confess ourselves as still in the dark as to the hidden and mysterious connection that exists between a Rail Road to the Pacific and the abolition of Slavery. Mr. Benton very clearly sets forth the advantages of such a road, avows his determination to continue to advocate it, as he has for done for thirty years past. We can find no allusion whatever to the subject of Slavery in his letter from beginning to end. Nevertheless it must be there somew

remaining twenty-four hours in the State. He was either sent back to the slave State from which he had escaped, or hurried through to Canada where he became idle and worthless. He wanted Friends to raise the condition of the free blacks around them, before they attempted anything more. Take the mote out of your own eyes, and then you will see to remove the beam from your brothers.

James Mott expressed his regret at the communication he had just heard. In fact, he did not believe it was true that the slaves were better off than the free blacks of the North. Even if it were true, Slavery was answerable for the degraded condition of the free coloured people. Besides, the testimony of Friends was not founded on the harsh treatment of slaves, but it was against the *principle* of holding man as property.

Dr. George Truman, in a few words expressed the same view, sustaining his surprise at the apology for Slavery which had come from Nicholas Brown.

Rowland Johnson said he was not so much surprised at what the Friend had said, for he had been informed by a merchant of Philadelphia, who had been present at one of his meetings in the South, that he had taken the pains to declare to his audience that he was no Abolitionist.

Nicholas Brown then rose and said, he wished Friends to know he did not care for these things. He was prepared for them, and they did not affect him. He did not feel them.

Dr. Henry Gibbons expressed his surprise and regret at the communication of Nicholas Brown. He had spent the greater part of his life in a slave State, not in the heart of Slavery, but where the institution existed in its milder form, and he could not give such an account of it. He had no doubt Nicholas Brown had said what he believed, but he had gathered his view from the pampered domestics of wealthy planters whose hospitalities he had shared, and from servants in fashionable hotels in the large cities and thoroughfares of the South. He had not been into the prison-house of Slavery. His picture of the free blacks was also overdrawn. A great amount of labour was spent on their instruction and improvement. But even if the slaves were so well treated and so happy, and the free blacks so miserable, it had nothing to do with the testimony of Friends against Slavery. It would be just as reasonable to argue in favour of a hireling ministry, that hireling ministers are better fed and better clothed than Quaker preachers. Elias Hicks had once dined at the house of a planter in the South, and not eating much, the planter inquired the reason. Elias took him aside and said to him: "the dinner was very good, and I had a good appetite, but to be candid with thee, it was spoiled by the reflection that it was not thine to give." Elias could see through the flimsy veil which concealed from others the enormities of Slavery. He was a true Quaker, and like some other genuine Quakers, he bore his testimony against Slavery on the ground of principle, and not on account of the treatment of slaves.

As soon as Dr. Gibbons sat down, Nicholas Brown again rose in considerable excitement, and said he wished it known that he was no advocate of Slavery, but that he had seen the slave prison, the slave pen, and the block on which the slave was sold at auction, and that his heart had been pained by it. He wanted it known that he had not lived on the planters—he was no beggar, but had lived on his own pocket. It did not hurt him for persons thus to fly in his face and attack him. An Englishman whom he knew, used to have a saying, "The galled horse winces." "I know them," said Nicholas, throwing out his hand toward those who had spoken, "I know who they are." He added something more, in the same strain, after which the meeting adjourned.

Henry Clay's Letter.

Our esteemed friend Mr. S. May of Boston, has kindly communicated to us the following extract of a letter from the Rev. Dr. Hutton of London, a distinguished Unitarian clergyman of that city. The letter is dated April 30th, 1849. He says:

"MY DEAR SIR,—I forward to you by this post a copy of the *Inquirer* of Saturday last. You will see by it how my mind was affected by the perusal of Mr. Clay's letter. I regret that I omitted to notice in my note to the Editor, the master-stroke of Mr. Clay's policy,—his plan for emancipating Kentucky (should she wish it) without the emancipation of *any* of her negroes,—and then constituting her, should she aspire to the honour, a *Free Bulwark* of Slavery—a Patroness (a Procuress I felt inclined to say) of those crimes in others, which she had lost, or rather for convenience sake had relinguished, the power of committing herself. I can truly say that, in the course of my reading, I have never met with such a production. America, I verily believe, might safely defy Europe to produce a finer specimen of Machiavellian policy. Since I wrote my note, I have read with great pleasure Frederick Douglass's excellent remarks, on Mr. Clay's Letter, in the *Week Evening*."

The letter of Dr. Hutton to the *Inquirer* we also copy. We should be glad to publish other such testimony from Abolitionists abroad as this, and that so emphatically borne in the last letter of our Dublin Correspondent, R. D. Webb. To the *Inquirer* Dr. Hutton says:

TO THE EDITOR—MY DEAR SIR:—Henry Clay's Letter to Richard Pindell, Esqi, richly deserves, I think, to be bottled in spirits, and exhibited as a curious specimen of pro-slavery morality,—as the offspring in embryo, of cruelty, and a counterfeit for philanthropy,—to call it by no harsher name. The coolness with which the writer proposes to banish the negroes of Kentucky, of a future generation, at *their own* expense;—the wise provision which he makes, that he himself, and those of his own own generation, shall sustain no loss, or even inconvenience, but that the sinners of the next generation only shall suffer, and that the greater proportion of the penalty, even in their case, shall be borne by those against whom they have sinned;—the tenderness with which he deals with the prejudices of those "*respectable* persons who believe that Slavery is a blessing, that the institution ought to exist in every well organized Society, and that it is even favourable to the preservation of liberty;"—the modest reluctance, which he manifests, to force his ideas of right and wrong on the unprepared minds of the Kentuckians; to fall back on the approbation of conscience, should they reject his disinterested advice;—and, finally, the beautiful consistency which appears between his admission—that our duty to God requires us "not to *subjugate* or *deal unjustly* by our fellow men, who are less blessed than we are, but to instruct, to improve, and to enlighten them;" and his proposed proviso, that "until the commencement of his system," that is, not improbably during the whole life of himself and his contemporaries, "all the legal rights of the proprietors of slaves, *in their fullest extent*, ought to remain unimpaired and unrestricted;" these various beauties of this remarkable document seem to me to render it worthy of a place in the anatomical museum of the human heart,—in that department of it which is reserved for its monstrosities.

I remain, my dear sir, faithfully yours,
JOSEPH HUTTON.

☞ The following is from a letter of an English gentleman to a friend in this country, and refers to the recent execution in Bristol, of a young woman, named Sarah Thomas, whose case will doubtless find its way into the American papers. The letter is dated May 4th, 1849:

"Mr. Herepath, whose name you may know as a celebrated chemist, the discoverer of arsenic in the stomach of many murdered people, and who is one of the Bristol magistrates, was present at the execution of Sarah Thomas, and showed me the paper, covered with writing and drawing, on which she had been *amusing* herself at 12 o'clock at night, her execution being to take place at 10 in the morning. The alphabet was printed and ornamented like this [with various dots and flourishes] and with much other and rather elaborate *figuring*. Mr. H., said she was not mad or weak, but child like and thoughtless; that she did not care about the loss of life, but shrank from the suffering.

"The subject of death-punishment has just been discussed in the House of Commons, and this case alluded to The abolition of Capital Punishment is gaining supporters, but not enough yet to carry it. I am not convinced of the duty or policy of *entirely* abolishing the death-penalty, but should like to see Government try the experiment.—The tone of the supporters of the present law in the House is serious and deliberate;—nothing of lightness or vindictiveness in it."

☞ Our readers in Pennsylvania will be glad to see from the following correspondence, which we find in the (Glasgow) *British Friend*, that their next Fair is likely to receive more efficient aid from abroad than it has hitherto done; and it may urge the lukewarm among them—if there are any such—to more strenuous efforts at home in behalf of that excellent institution the Philadelphia Fair.

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To the EDITORS *of the* BRITISH FRIEND.

DEAR FRIENDS,—I shall be obliged by the insertion of the following note, and the letter which accompanies it. To those who are acquainted with my friend, Samuel Rhoads, it will, I believe, be hardly necessary for me to say, that I unite with him in opinion, that contributions to the object named, will be a satisfactory mode of aiding the Anti-Slavery cause in America.

I shall be pleased to forward to Philadelphia any *contributions in money* that are entrusted to me.

Respectfully, JOSEPH STURGE.
Birmingham, 4th Month, 16th, 1849.

My dear friend, Joseph Sturge,—The following letter, which came into my hands a few days ago, sufficiently explains its object. I commend it to the favourable consideration of the Slave's friends in Great Britain. The only answer, I presume, needed to the inquiries it contains is, that no direct appeal has heretofore been made by the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society to the sympathies of British Abolitionists, and no arrangement proposed through which their generous offerings might be transmitted. May all our efforts for the liberation of the poor slave be such, that we can fervently crave for them the Divine blessing; ever remembering, that the cause is the Lord's, and that to Him alone, while we faithfully plant and water, we must look for the increase.

Very truly, thy friend, SAMUEL RHOADS.

To Samuel Rhoads—Respected Friend,—Your well known Anti-Slavery character, and your intimate acquaintance with some of the Abolitionists of Great Britain, induce us to take the liberty of addressing to you a few inquiries relative to the state of feeling at present existing among our British friends, and to their co-operation with the Abolitionists of Pennsylvania.

The Pennsylvanian Anti-Slavery Society is at present, as you know, the only state organization which exists in Pennsylvania for the purpose of abolishing Slavery. Its basis in the great doctrine that Slavery is in all cases a *sin*, and consequently that immediate and unconditional emancipation is the right of the slave, and the duty of the slaveholder. Its mode of operation is the dissemination of this truth, by the various means wherewith the heart and conscience of this nation can be reached. Its hope of success is in the potency of truth to destroy error—of light to dispel darkness—of right to conquer wrong. It rejects the sword of the warrior, as an unchristian weapon,—it forms no political parties, believing that they are not appropriate or efficient instrumentalities for the promotion of moral reform. It refuses allegiance to the pro-slavery constitution of the United States, and exhorts every friend of the slave to withhold his assent from that compact with iniquity.

With these principles and these measures, the Pennsylvanian Anti-Slavery Society has been actively labouring during many years, amidst obloquy, and in the earliest stages of our enterprise, much persecution from nearly all classes of the community. During these years of conflict, we have naturally looked for co-operation to all those whose hearts were beating with sympathy with the heart of the bondsman. We have believed that our principles and measures met with a hearty assent from the masses of British Abolitionists; and that aware of the difficulties with which we are obliged to contend, they would joyfully extend to us such aid as might be in their power. Occupying the position we do, on the northern borders of Slave States, and extending our operations into those States, those difficulties are great and more numerous than those which oppose the progress of our enterprise in our Northern and Eastern States. You are aware that nearly all the advocates of abstinence from slave-labour products, resident in Pennsylvania, are embraced in our organization; that the organ of our Society, the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, is the only avowed abolition newspaper, excepting your own, published in eastern Pennsylvania; that ours is the only organization which sustains Anti-Slavery lecturers or agents; and which, to any great extent, publishes Anti-Slavery tracts and pamphlets.

This great work is left for us to do, and with the means which we can put in operation we are endeavouring to accomplish it. Why is it, then, we receive so little substantial proof of heartfelt co-operation from British Abolitionists? Why is it that our Annual Fair, the profits of which are mainly devoted to carrying on the operations of this Society, is so entirely neglected by them, while their aid is liberally extended to other fairs in this and other parts of the country? Are we mistaken in supposing that their sympathies are with us, and that our measures meet with their approval? If so, we would be informed of it; or if they have misapprehended our position, we would gladly correct the error.

Your hearty sympathy with our labour, and intimate knowledge of its various departments, together with your intercourse with the Abolitionists of England, suggest to us that inquiries upon this subject cannot be more suitably addressed than to yourself. A desire for the highest prosperity of our common cause is our only motive for our troubling you with them.

Respectfully, your fellow-labourers in the work of Emancipation,

SARAH PUGH,
MARY GREW.

NEGRO EFFRONTERY.—Frederick Douglass, the negro orator, in company with two well-dressed and good-looking white women, took passage in the steamer Alida, at Albany, on Thursday last, for this city. During the progress of the boat, Douglass, with one of his women on each arm, was very conspicuous in promenading the deck. At meal-time, the impudent fellow and his companions in spite of the remonstrances of the officers, seated themselves at the head of the table, with all the pomposity and dignity of nobility. This was coming it rather strong, as the atmosphere in the cabin was particularly warm; and the passengers with one accord rose from the table in disgust, and called upon the captain to abate the nuisance. Captain Stone, in the "politest manner imaginable," announced that it was contrary to the rules of the boat for negroes to eat in the cabin with the white passengers. Douglass prated about his rights as a man, the two women remonstrated, and thought respect for *ladies*, should induce the captain and passengers to treat Mister Douglass, their friend and companion, with more courtesy and civility. The women were told that, white females who had no more respect for themselves than to associate, and to walk, arm-in-arm, with negroes, were not entitled to the usual civilities of life. Douglass, finding he could not sustain his position, took his females upon his arm, and retired, with much dignity, without his dinner. Who were the white women?

We find the above paragraph in the *Sunday Atlas*. Precisely all the circumstances connected with this disgraceful incident, we have not heard, but they are in the main true as related by the *Atlas*. The ladies towards whom that paper thus repeats the insults of the [illegible] English women of education, and refinement, with whom Mr. Douglass became acquainted on his visit abroad, and who are now making a tour of pleasure in this country. We had the pleasure of meeting them on their first arrival in this city, and in conversation upon the condition of the coloured people in the United States, found them absolutely incredulous as to the extent of the vulgar and contemptible prejudice against colour, concerning which we attempted to enlighten them. This, we believe, is not the first instance in which they have been grossly and brutally insulted for venturing to appear in public with Mr. Douglass.

Of course the manner of narration in the *Atlas* conveys an entirely wrong impression of the nature of the incident on board the Alida. Mr. Douglass, it is true, went to the public table in company with several white friends, and declined leaving it at the command of the waiter, but did so, with his friends when they were all ordered on deck by the Captain. We have heard of no demonstration on the part of other passengers, and are assured that the deportment of Mr. Douglass throughout, was modest, manly, and unassuming, that the bearing of his immediate companions was that simply of well-bred English women, though smarting under a brutal insult, but that the conduct of Captain Stone was disgusting and contemptible. At a loss how better to take fitting vengeance upon such offenders, he not only abused them in the vocabulary most congenial to such characters, but proceeded to the length of inflicting what to men of large stomachs, small heads, and no hearts, is the worst of punishments—he would not permit the party to dine at all!

ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.—This incendiary sheet has been sent to us. How we wish its editor could come along with it, for we are certain no summer amusement could afford us half so much pleasure as assisting in adjusting a hempen cravat about his neck.

Unlike most of our Southern contemporaries, we are perfectly willing to exchange with such a paper, and would not have the slightest objection to see it generally read through the country; for like everything ignorant, ultra, and fanatical, it injures itself and everything else, more than that which it seeks to destroy. No sane man, North or South, is, or can be, an Abolitionist, and we are confident that a few more papers like the Anti-Slavery Standard, will soon make the miserable crew of rogues and rascals, who now compose the abolition party, blush to have their names associated with so infamous a cause.

So says the (Asheville, North Carolina,) *Highland Messenger*, whose motto is "*Be just and fear not.*" With all due acknowledgments to our Southern contemporaries for their repeated invitations to submit our throat to their tender manipulations, we shall keep it, as long as we can, in its present condition. If we have not, as an Abolitionist, a *mens sana*, we mean, at least, not to jeopardize the *corpore sana* in a country where Nature, foreseeing what sort of a people were to inhabit it, and their necessities, has hung a moss halter upon every tree.

We shall send the *Standard*, however, to the *Messenger*, hoping that the reading thereof may be blessed to its amiable editor.

RICHARD DILLINGHAM.—We mentioned two or three weeks ago the trial and conviction of Richard Dillingham, for the crime of "opening the prison-doors of those who are in bonds,"—the heaviest bonds—in Tennesee. A late number of the *Liberator* contains the following letter from Joseph A. Dugdale, which gives us some further interesting particulars of this case, and especially sheds some light upon the character of American Quakerism:

Another Martyr to Liberty.

SELMA, Clark Co. (Ohio,) 5th mo. 9th, 1849.

ESTEEMED FRIEND W. L. GARRISON:

An incident worthy of publication has fallen under my notice:

Returning from our half year's meeting, held in Logan county, a few days since, we staid all night at the hospitable dwelling of Asa and Edith Williams, members of the Orthodox Friends, but among the truest of the many who now plead the cause of the oppressed slave. Asa had just returned from Tenessee, where he and his sister, —— Dillingham, had been attending the trial of Richard Dillingham, a young man, and member of their Society. He had been apprehended in the act of aiding the escape of several slaves. During his confinement, his ingenuousness and noble bearing won for him the esteem of many. By the time of his trial, much of the excitement had subsided. He plead guilty, made a short speech in open court, the above named friend, his mother and uncle being with him. He there stated thas he had no selfish or sinister design, he expected no emolument; he had been educated in the Society of Friends, and there imbibed these feelings of philanthropy, benevolence, &c. The Court was evidently moved. The jury retired, and hastily returned, suggesting three years of confinement in the penitentiary, this being the shortest period the law would allow. Quite a number in the assembly shed tears. Another part of the story, for very shame sake, I hesitate to write. Some of the above particulars were published, and I read them in the Nashville Gazette. They fell into the hands of William Askew, of St. Clairsville, Belmont county, Ohio, a member of the Society of Friends, who was in Nashville a few days after he read the newspaper report, and repaired to the young man's prison, and there, instead of pouring the oil of consolation into his bleeding heart, and allowing the tide of manly sympathy to flow into his bosom, this ignorant pharisee, in the presence of the keeper, accused him of slandering the Society of Friends, by asserting that his education had been such as to induce his course in the matter; and in the swelling tide of his wonted volubility he said, as an evidence that the society had no fellowship with such movements, they had excommunicated Joseph A. Dugdale and others. Richard Dillingham, although a member of another branch of the Society, as you will remember, was not a stranger to the high-handed outrages of the Indiana Yearly Meeting, and our separation from it, and therefore passed the inquiry, "Do I understand thee to say, J. A. Dugdale was disowned for aiding in the escape of slaves?" "*Oh no!*" said William, "but for being so zealous in the Abolition cause." And this declaration in a Southern prison-house! I am destitute of any language—words would fail to describe the mingled sensations of sorrow and indignation which swell in my soul, in view of this atrocious outrage of all the nice sensibilities of our nature. Yet this is the natural consequence of making man less than constitutions and arbitrary creeds. When any sect refuses to progress, the tendency it exerts is to destroy instead of ennobling and blessing mankind. I have believed it right to give the name of this individual in full. He travelled some years ago, through the Southern portion of Ohio and Indiana, with Edward Hicks. Whether he was regarded as a companion, or only as a charioteer, I know not.

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE.

THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.—A renewed effort against the Foreign Slave Trade, we observe, is about to be made in England. We learn from *Jerrold's News*, that at a recent Court and Privy Council Messrs. S. Gurney, W. Forster, G. Stacey, and P. Bedford, as a deputation from the Society of Friends, presented an address praying her Majesty to exert her utmost power to suppress the African Slave Trade and Slavery.—The Friends say, towards the conclusion of their address—

"We ask permission humbly and plainly to declare our conviction that it is only in the extinction of negro Slavery that we can have any security for the utter termination of the African Slave Trade. May the Lord of Heaven and Earth bless thee, our beloved Sovereign, and thy Royal Consort, and may his blessing rest upon all thy house."

The Queen replied:—

"I have received your address with much satisfaction, I fully appreciate the benevolent efforts of the Society of Friends on behalf of the suffering and oppressed. I am deeply sensible of the wrongs and evils inflicted by the directed towards its extinction."

In the *British Friend*, we find an appeal which the editor hopes "will meet with a hearty response from our Anti-Slavery female friends, in all parts of the country; and that where there is no organized society to take it up, some will be found willing to unite in an effort to obtain signatures to the Address, in their respective neighbourhoods."

The appeal is as follows:

THE Birmingham and Westbromwich Ladies' Negro's Friend Society, deeply impressed by the recent accounts, of the aggravated horrors of the African Slave Trade believe it their duty to address the Queen on the subject, and to invite the friends of the cause generally to unite with them.

Calling to mind the successful part which was taken by the Women of Great Britain, in the one great effort throughout the country, which terminated in the extinction of Slavery in our colonies, and believing that though this is happily accomplished, there is still a duty to be performed towards the present victims of Slavery and the Slave Trade, they are earnestly desirous that the co-operation of the Friends of the Negro, in all parts of the country, should render this a truly national memorial. They feel assured that the diffusion of this subject must arouse the active sympathy of their fellow-countrywomen; and they trust that those who feel an interest in the cause will endeavour to obtain signatures as extensively as possible, and to promote the objects it proposes by every means in their power.

Copies of the Memorial, papers for signature, and further information on the subject, may be obtained on application to the Secretaries,

LYDIA EDMUND STURGE,
MARY RUTH MOORSOM.
Birmingham 4th Month, 1949.

Reviews & Magazines.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, *for April. Leonard, Scott & Co.'s Reprint*

The No. will be particularly sought after for the review it contains of Macaulay's History, which is said to be by Croker, whose edition of Boswell's Johnson, Macaulay so mercilessly cut up some years ago in the *Edinburgh*. Mr. Croker necessarily labours under the imputation of attempting to give a Rowland for an Oliver, and all the really just criticism which he may make will be considered as pointless except so far as it may be sarcastic. Nevertheless, abounding with the gall of a wounded author, as the article evidently is, and captious and without force as it is in many particulars, it should be read by all who have read Macaulay, though the London Reviewer is no match for him of the Edinburgh.

An article upon the Skerryvore Light House, and a review of the Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant, are the two other most attractive papers in this number. Popular Science, Dog-breaking, Stephen's Book of the Farm, Revolutionized Italy, and The Germanic Confederation, are the remaining articles.

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE. *Leonard Scott and Co.'s Reprint.*

The May number of Blackwood is just issued, and a glance at its Table of Contents assures us of a number as usually interesting. The Reaction, or Foreign Conservatism; Legitimacy in France; and Austria and Hungary are evidently of the political shade which distinguishes Blackwood; and Jack Moonlight, the Village Doctor, a translation of one of Madame D'Arbouville's fascinating tales, and a story in rhyme called "The College," constitute the lighter literature of the number. It contains also a paper on Education in Scotland, and a review of a German Work upon "Ararat, and the Armenian Highlands," both of which, doubtless, are well worth reading.

Domestic Correspondence.

Letter from Georgia—Southern Theology.

ATHENS, GEORGIA, May, 1849.

To the Editor and Publisher, or Conductor:

I do not see why the *Anti-Slavery Standard* was *sent* me,* except *not* to gag my mouth, or inertize my pen. With the deepest feelings of humility and as profound a desire to find the truth, I now reply to the meeting of the 3d of May last, of the coloured citizens, of your city.

I do not think that God has made any human soul de-

* The paper must have been sent him by some of his friends at the North.—ED. STANDARD.

liberately and wilfully predisposed to wickedness: but that there is an Evil Influence from what men call Satan, and this is the cause of all the clashing and jarring discords that obtain all the earth over. And it is in proportion to our humble spirit and watchful emotion of prayer, that we escape the snares of the devil, which are within proud and enemitious feelings. And it so happens, my brethren, that from education, circumstances, and want of light, that men allow themselves to be taken prisoners by the Evil One, to surrender the citadel of the heart and accordingly to embitter their own and the lives of their fellow-creatures.

In such cases, we can do no better than to retrace our steps, and from the enlightened wisdom of our best Christian fathers, living and dead, to draw a pathway in which safely, we may mutually walk.

In making this retracement, we may offend nearly all; for more or less, all men and every nation, are infected with the corruption of fallen mortals. But I depreciate the idea that I wantonly desire or would, in fact, cast a slur or a censure uselessly upon any inhabitant of our troublous globe. I feel a sincere compassion for myself alike and all, and a boundless solicitude if possible, and it is possible in God, to discover what is the matter with the nations and ourselves, and to guide to true felicity.

The system of reforms divulged by various good men, that from age to age have advanced it, has generally been short-lived, or created matter for disputes, that broke mankind into parties and sects, and this gave rise to hostility and distrust, until the various medley became Satan's chess-board.

The truth is that Reformers have been weak enough to cherish things no real Reformer ought to harbour; these were pride, ambition, selfishness, and impatient animosity. And soon they rested on their oars and listened to the syren song of charming fame.

Now, [illegible] way was the example of the Bible—of Moses, Nehemiah, Elijah clothed in a poor mantle, and above all of CHRIST.

Wesley followed them in part and awhile, for Wesley would not dip in baptism, and his hosannas rendered his system bitter than others.

And the liberty given us by Washington is incomplete since the domestic habits of the people are left in *statu quo*.

Thus every reform is unavailing to the complete evangelization of mankind, or of any country, or sect, because it always has a *flaw* or deficiency somewhere through which the Old Serpent can thrust his insidious head.

The best reform was begun 1800 years ago, and by one Jesus Christ—it linked Time and Eternity, and on no other *sure* foundation can man build. And any system not wholly built on this one cannot prevail.

But our error, and that of all past and present reformers is that Christ's plan was purely spiritual, and not also temporal; and on this submarine rock has split the multifarious theological barks.

And the more political error is the defect of their leaders in knowing the *spirit of God*, and the *gist* and *gravomen* of the Bible. The consequence is, our country with liberty is no better than Europe without; and there is more true happiness in Norway than in the United States. Meantime we have, alas! a heavy dark cloud menacing us and our little ones, and this future gloom completes our decided misery. Alike North and South, white and black *all*, ALL, ALL, are miserable.

As there is but one faith to save our souls, so there is but one political reform efficient. This reform is *one*, but its spirit and operation and interest are multitudinous. Ah, I fear I offend you and your black brethren to name it. *But I must.* Alike for my as their good, I must. God's fiat is irrevocable. But the fullest felicity to all is in obedience to this illimitable fate.

Take Moses for our example, and the heaven-translated Elijah, and what was their course? *NOT* the absorbing universalisms of Abolitionists, the Fourierites, the Fanny Wright men, not even the ill-directed efforts of Elihu Burritt.

They, like God's will, discriminated. Moses lifted his [illegible]; Elijah repulsed the Priest of Baal.

Is there nothing for us to discriminate about to-day? There is much.

We cannot possibly affiliate with the coloured race to any certain good to them or ourselves! Even the addresses of the 3d May, contains things humiliating and horrible to Christians and to good men.

A Douglass wishes the South a slaughter house! while claiming the name of *peace!* A Bibb said, like the Haytians, the mulattoes will slay their fathers!

Now any attempt at reform or abolition to *suit such fellows*, strikes at God's will, and saps the foundation of Christianity and peace, and revolves the Law into a barbarism truly African. Are *these* and such *feeble minds* and *weak hearts*—ready tools of Moloch, fratricides, parricides—hellish idealists, the luminaries of the Northern Abolitionists, and the guides of their, as weak and frail, brethren of darkies?

If the negroes and mulattoes be these examples, what reform is good with them, or for them here?

You cannot belie Moses or alter the fate of Ham's progeny. They, like himself, are of a black, and the identical personality, and like him, doomed to inferiority and sequestration from us—and if among us, to bondage. You do not view the aspect of things as you ought.—Moses and Elijah and the Saviour, viewed them better than you. While those prophets eschewed the Union of Israel with the surrounding descendants of Ham, Christ hesitated to notice a Syrio Phœnician woman—called her race dogs—and then he praised her, and granted her request. He nevertheless did signify enough to put us on our guard against people who could, in solemn assembly, talk like the two at the meeting of the 3d May.

No white man, not a maniac, or idiot, or a Morisco-Spaniard, or a mixed Mexican, or a Phœnico-Hibernian, or a Corsico-Bonaparte, or a Nero, of the mingled blood—[a warning to all Reformers not to confound by amalgamation!] would reason as did Douglass or Bibb. The best and mildest address was that of Pennington, and the second of Remond. But Remond claims as prerogative the right to amalgamate. He need only encounter *me* to find silence for his own or other's nonsense. A sensible white man however not peaceful to insurrect here—and that no good to either class can come of war—for see how the Haytians wage war between blacks and mulattoes. Peaceful courses and fervent prayers, all wisdom knows, is the only decisive way to bless both white and black; and Colonization the only solution of the vexed problem. Any other way, or that of the fury-Douglass, is, to destroy all possible amelioration, and to prevent the country from being a the long run any happy place to any race. And why did not this peice man *see* this. Is his intellect jammed in his monkey-like cranium, and his heart—crocodile? Bibb too in want of mercy to one's *father* exhibited, for Liberty, that division of the Divine Will and Economy, that more forcibly evinced, that Africa is their place, and to Africa they must be gone.

My views of the races European Asiatic and African, are:—[the Bible age, Moses &c. is my authority, which all history and Mr. Macaulay corroborates.]

1st. That there was some change after the flood in one of Noah's sons—who was made *lower* than the others—for reasons sufficient with the Lord—such as mocking his father's nakedness, rebelling against that father and God's authority, i. e. in making himself adored by his willing children as superior, and in having monarchy.

2d. That evidently the race of Ham stand in the place of Cain's.

3d. That their nature and tendency is to corrupt other races.

Noah was not to be scorned by any son. He blessed the "Lord God of Japhet." What a sanctity to Japhet and to his lineal and literal progeny! It was an extraordinary benediction—linking his good son to God—to Jehovah—GOD.

If I err I pray God forgive me. If I err not, he will establish my wish.

How much incumbent in reformers is the duty not to err. Let the negroes be separated to a place of their own. Their own is their original Pelagian. There let them build up Christian Goverments. There let them prove good. They are the stewards with one talant, since lowered. We are those with five. We have more to do than the consummate folly of attending to them. They ought to be engaged in better duties than staying here and struggling to *adapt* some of us to their rate of nature. My reformation is the true: It moreover leaves us to *love* one another! and upon love is the formation of every virtuous and desirable good. One great flaw then being stopped the way to new amelioration or reformations is plain.

I have to add that mulattoes and quadroons ought to find some comparatively temperate part of the earth for their migration,—if Liberia be too ungenial to their health. Or rather let the quadroons stay. I wish we and the negroes could meet together as friends on this thing. I wish them good—and with us a clear and certain entrance hereafter to God. I fear their location here can do no good for this. Experience declares against the contact. And all history remarkably shows that the Europeans, and Africans, and even the Asiatics too, never mingle as easily and congenially as Europeans with Europeans—Asiatics with Asiatics, or Africans with Africans!!! Let us attend to the Lord's manifest will and maintain a friendship with all nations. Internally and internationally may we be peace men.

Print this and let me see your reply.

Yours, truly and respectfully,
J. J. FLOURNOY.

Foreign Intelligence.

Arrival of the Caledonia.

Seven Days Later from Europe.

The Caledonia arrived from Liverpool on Sunday last, and we copy below the synopsis of the important news she brings, and which was sent over the wires from Halifax.

ENGLAND.—The COMMERICAL NEWS present no new feature. The Money market continues easy, but in consequence of the [illegible] aspect of affairs in France and Italy, [illegible] securities have been depressed.

PARLIAMENTARY. The bill for the modification of the navigation laws, has been carried in the House of Lords, by a majority of 10 in favour of ministers.—These laws may now be virtually considered as repealed. The result has given the whig ministry a tenure of office in the House. The Parliamentary oath bill, having for its object the removal of the Jewish disabilities, has been read a second time by a larger majority than before.

Mr. Roebuck is about to bring before Parliament his plan for the better government of the colonies, and also will move a committee to ascertain the amount of debt due from foreign governments to British subjects.

The arguments on the writ of error brought by W. S. O'Brien and T. B. McManus have been read before the House of Lords, and without hearing counsel for the Crown, the law-lords and judges unanimously decided that the errors assigned by the plaintiffs could not be maintained by the arguments, and that the judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland must stand affirmed. It is now expected that the sentence of transportation will be carried into effect before the first of June. It is rumored that the prosecution of Duffy is abandoned.

GERMANY.—The whole of continental Europe seems ready to burst into one general conflagration. The quarrel between the Parliaments throughout all the various divisions of Germany and their respective Princes has reached the highest pitch, and in Saxony a frightful conflict has already taken place. At Dresden the people, or rather the Red Republican party, fought with the troops during seven hours, on the 6th instant and a great loss of life occurred. The railroads were displaced in order to prevent troops from Berlin from arriving, but a sufficient force of Prussians having come up opportunely, a momentary tranquility was secured by sheer military force. The fight was however, renewed on the 6th, and a frightful cannonading lasted all day, until night separated the combatants. On the 7th, the battle was again renewed at four o'clock, A. M., and the most deadly warfare was going on in the streets by the latest advices, up to six o'clock of that day.

Intelligence from Dresden to the 8th, states that hostilities still raged between the royalists and the insurgents, to the disadvantage of the latter, without any immediate prospect of their termination. The members of the provisional government had been outlawed, and were on the watch for their apprehension.

At Leipsic also, disturbances had broken out. After a short and sharp struggle between the military and the populace the latter were suppressed. Several of the rioters were killed.

Accounts from Berlin of the 8th, state that an insurrection had broken out at Breslau, in Silesia, on the 6th. On the 7th the troops and the people were fighting in the city. It was also rumored that an insurrection had taken place at Coblentz.

HUNGARY.—While these convulsions are taking place, the Austrian empire is in actual danger of dissolution, by the continued success of the Hungarians. They are in possession of Grau Raab and Tyrnnaw. In the meantime, Russia is advancing a large body of troops against the victorious Hungarians, but all accounts concur in representing the excitement of the Hungarians as raised to the highest pitch, and that something more than the united forces of Russia and Austria will be required to quell this National insurrection.

Active measures are in progress to create a revolution in Gallicia, and in fact from Posen to Pesth the whole country is involved in, or on the brink of, actual hostilities.

The important fact is stated in the London papers, of the 11th, that a joint note, the production of the courts of Great Britain and France, has been addressed to the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh, intimating their disapproval of the intervention of Russia in the Austro-Hungarian dispute, and insisting that such interference be withdrawn.

DENMARK.—The Danish War still continues, but it is conducted on both sides in a feeble and languishing manner. On the 7th instant, an engagement took place, in which the Danes were defeated; the loss on either side is not stated.

FRANCE.—From Paris, the report is still repeated, that the rupture between the President and M. Napoleon Bonaparte yet exists. A fierce quarrel, it is said, rages between them, which is fomented by the inventive faculties of their enemies. More important events, however, than personal quarrels increase the dangers that surround the President. Increasing discontent prevails among large bodies of the army, the privates and officers of which seem to have been greatly wrought upon by the Socialists. A serious riot has taken place in the barracks of the 7th light infantry, stationed at the Hotel des Invalides. A Sergeant Major Boichot having had his name placed among the list of Socialist candidates for the Assembly, was arrested. The men insisted upon his release. A riot of a serious character ensued, the officers were defied, and at length Boichot was sent off to Vincennes, but not without great difficulty. The regiment has been sent away from Paris, but the same insubordination prevailed in many regiments as the Socialists, by the most uncessing efforts, continue to seduce the soldiers from their duty, but the check which the French have met in the Papal States, has moved all France to the centre, and touched the people upon their tenderest points, the glory of France.

ITALY.—In Italy, the advance of the French expedition toward Rome has been checked by the resistance of the Republicans of the Roman States. In two encounters the French were driven back with great loss, and Captain Oudinot, a relative of the General, was taken prisonor. General Oudinot, unprepared for such a reception, has withdrawn his troops four leagues from the city, and there waits for reinforcements and further instructions from his Government. The French had 180 killed and 400 wounded.

The French General marched on the 27th ultimo, from Civita Vecchia. The account of his further progress, as furnished by telegraphic despatches, published by Government, is thus: General Oudinot had set out on his march for Rome, where, according to every information, he was called by the wishes of the people; but having met from the foreigners who occupy Rome more serious resistance than he expected, he took up a position at some distance from the city, and was awaiting the arrival of the rest of the expedition. No date is mentioned, but it is probable that General Oudinot was near Rome on the 30th.

On the 26th, the Roman Constituent Assembly pronounced the following decree, viz: The Assembly, in consequence of the communications made by the triumvirate, commit to the triumvirate the office of saving the republic and repelling force by force. During the sittings, it was stated by Mazzini that the triumvirs had received a deputation of three of Gen. Oudinot's officers, who on being required to assign a reason for the occupation of Civita Vecchia by an armed foreign force, stated that the first season was to preserve the Roman States from an Austrian invasion, which was already meditated and even prepared; that the second was to ascertain precisely what were the sentiments of the population with regard to the form of government they judged most convenient, and to seek to put in train and promote a perfect reconciliation between Pius IX. and the Roman people. On the 27th, the Constituent Assembly resolved to adhere to their resolution of opposing the entrance of the French into Rome, and continued the preparations for defence. Orders have been issued to undermine the Milvian bridge, and the approaches to Rome on the side of the sea board. Barricades with cannon are erected on the roads, and the gates and streets that led to Civita Vecchia. The long covered gallery, erected by Pope Borgia between the Castle of St. Angelo and the Vatican, Palace, has been blown up with powder, and the materials used to block up the avenues of the city. A deputation of the central committee had protested against the invasion, and informed Gen. Oudinot that the Romans would resist his entrance by force, and blow up the Quirnal, the Vatican, and St. Peter's, which were already undermined. The General replied that his instructions were imperative, and that he would enter Rome by force if not quietly received.

A letter from an eye-witness gives the following account of the attack on the city: A company of the first battallion of Tirailleurs, sent on to the gates of Rome, being received with musket shot, returned in good order, and soon after, a part of the division advanced and penetrated, without much difficulty, into the inclosure of the capital, at which, the streets were barricaded, but they were received by a well-fed fire of musketry, and a storm of missiles from the windows and roofs of the houses. The 20th of the line, which was in the front was severely treated. A company of Voltigeurs was almost totally destroyed. At last, seeing the impossibility of continuing a struggle which became fatal, Gen. Oudinot ordered the retreat, and the expeditionary corps occupied at this moment a strong position near Rome. [illegible] much had about 200 men killed, of whom some [illegible]. Amongst them is M. Harris, aid-de-camp [illegible] Oudinot, and several hundred were wounded.

The correspondent of the *London Daily News*, writing from Rome on the 3d inst. stated that the French did not enter Rome at all, and all the fighting took place outside the wall. The gates of San Pancrazio and Pertese were the points of attack. A sortie was made by Garibaldi as the French advanced, and the latter are said by the correspondent, to have lost 600 killed on the

Miscellany.

From the London Spectator.

IRELAND AND SIR ROBERT PEEL.

BY THOMAS CARLYSLE.

Sir Robert Peel's two speeches on the state of Ireland may be regarded as the most important occurrence of this session, or indeed of many past sessions. Not for their qualities as speeches: on that side, though very excellent on that too, they are very indifferent to us; ingenious words which do not spring from any earnest meaning, and are not to end in any action, being of all human products the plentifulest at present, and the most worthless, not to say (as we might) far worse than worthless, positively noxious, unwholesome in a high degree to every human virtue, and fast becoming a mere offence and affliction to all serious persons. But as a foreshadow of coming facts for Ireland, these words, of such a man, are of moment to every British citizen, and to the considerable class of British citizens who, this long while past, look with despair on the red tape doctrines and imbecile performances alone prevalent in official quarters as to this affair, they come like a prophecy [illegible] things, inexpressibly cheering.

For it is a fact, however little it may [illegible] in Downing street at present, that a new [illegible] of affairs has arrived for Ireland and us; that the old condition of affairs has, as it right well deserved to do, fallen irretrievably dead,—lies there, by due course of nature, prostrate in ruin, inanition, and starvation; from which it will never rise alive, and in which no official galvanism (with rates-in-aid, and grants of ten millions, and grants of the twentieth part of one million) can prolong much further its hideous counterfeit of life. Some honour to the statesman,—great and peculiar honour, such as his contemporaries cannot any of them claim,—who admits this fact; accepts it in its alarming undeniable magnitude; and is prepared to deal with it, to rally the valour and intelligence of the British nation against it! This we account important news. A man in a high position, more acquainted with officialities and all their intricacies and details than any other man, and whose words are liable to be demanded of him as deeds, informs us that the time for palterings with Ireland, by palliatives, by makestuffs, and routine tinkerages, is past; that we must quit the region of common-place officialities altogether in regard to Ireland; strip ourselves bare of those frightful, long-accumulated cobwebberies, and coils of red-tape, which tie us up hand and foot, and shut out the light of day from us; that we must front this Irish monster with real human faculty, if we have such; look into him eye to eye, practically grapple with him strength to strength, and either conquer him or else be devoured by him.

To that alternative, Sir Robert cautiously but distinctly intimates, we have now come. Vain to think of palliating this Irish monster, intimates Sir Robert; vain to try feeding him [illegible] Indian meal, or rates-in-aid; he will not feed—he has a stomach like the grave, the whole world cannot feed him! Besides, in sad truth, why feed him; what is the use of him when fed? Sir Robert does not ask this latter question; but tragic fact, in the hearts of all men that *have* humanity and do reverence the awful being of man,—very loudly asks it. This miserable monster, unless he can radically change himself and become a new creature, ought to *wish* to die. In sad earnest it is so. Realities, like Irish society as founded on the late statute, or on the present Downing street tinkerage and rate-in-aid, ought not to be allowed to live under the title of human. In the name of Adam's united posterity, and for the honour of the family, they are called to become new creatures, unspeakably improved in various essential respects, or else to die, and disgrace the light no longer! Alive, by Indian meal or the regenerated potato, no human heart could wish this Irish monster. Let him become an unspeakably improved monster; let him at least learn to feed himself, be taught to feed himself, which is the primary stage of all improvement, and first renders improvement possible; let him become human instead of brutal, or else die. The universe, if he could hear its eternal admonition, perpetually solicits him to do the one or the other. The universe—the potato being dead—has now happily brought it so far that he *must* do the one or the other! For which stern mercy all pious men, and good citizens of this world, are bound to be thankful.

The condition of Ireland, we often enough hear, is frightful; and certainly it is far from a charming condition to anybody just now. It is in fact our English share of that "General Bankruptcy of Imposture," which the events of the last year all over Europe have very loudly announced,—somewhat unexpectedly to some. What the fall of Louis Philippe, and the street barricades of Paris, have been to Europe, the ruin of the potato has been to us. Frightful enough; yet not without some consolatory features. If "Imposture," official routine, grimace, red-tape, and Parliamentary-eloquence, were really *insolvent*,—unable to perform the task of guiding men, and able only to perform the scandalous make-believe of it,—the sooner that fact was rendered public, and put into the gazette, it will be the better and not the worse for all parties! The truly frightful element in the condition of Ireland, for a good while past, has been the official manner of dealing with its condition. The official theory, so far as one could see, was that nothing specially new had occurred in Ireland; that Ireland had indeed lost the potato, but through the blessing of Heaven would perhaps get it again; for the rest, that Ireland must be dealt with as heretofore,—kept from revolt by Attorney Generals and armed police; and kept from starvation by Indian meal, (mingling the due modicum of *soot* or "workhouse test" in it, to make it disgusting enough,) till once the potato returned, after which times would perhaps mend a little. This was the official theory, reduced to practice with great frankness, in a more or less magnificent manner, extending to tens of millions or tens of thousands, according as the circumstances, as the English nation's strength of purse and strength of faith (both rapidly *declining*, as was natural, in such an enterprise) would permit.

To maintain 50,000 armed policemen, horse, foot, and artillery, for the tranquilizing of a sister Island, which you had to keep alive with Indian meal at the same time, did seem rather anomalous to the English mind. The poor English mind has immense practice in anomalies, is everywhere quite used to anomalies, and is of thick-skinned nature withal; nevertheless there are things a little strong for it,—and the thickest-skinned mind does feel money oozing from its pocket. The finest peasantry in the world,—are they in sad truth to become a finest human pheasantry; fed all winter, regardless of expense, that in summer you may have the satisfaction, with your fifty thousand keepers, of shooting them? The world heretofore saw nowhere such gigantic sportsmanship! In fact, it has long been a thing—to keep *silence* upon; no polite speech being possible about it. And the Duffy Trial—with your Attorney General, and all the learned wigs, and best trained official intellects of Ireland, struggling, toiling with the enthusiasm of Kilkenny cats, these five months, to ascertain by the uttermost exertion of their law-wit and official machinery, whether a man *has* a nose upon his face? and unable hitherto to ascertain it, finding it doubtful hitherto;—this also is a thing to be silent upon: this,—which indeed lets us see a little into the soul of the whole abomination, and how a "throne of iniquity," and throne of *lies*, has long peaceably established itself in that wretched section of God's earth, and dominates everywhere, unquestioned there from sea to sea, till at last by blessed death of the potato, and by other blessed helps, it has now fallen *bankrupt*,—is a sight to create *unutterable* reflections!

How long placid commonplace is to continue its paltering with such a perilous immeasurable business for us all? that is, and has been more and more emphatically of late, the question with every thinking man. And sure enough, if there be any truth in almanacs, if this is indeed the year 1849, and from side to side of Europe, "Imposture," impotent speciosity, and the reign of redtape do lie hopelessly "bankrupt," doomed to inevitable swift abolition, let what result soever follow,—this question of "How long?" is profoundly interesting. For it means, What chance have *we*, inexpressedly favoured by Heaven with some respite, and space for repentance and amendment, to escape conflagration and destruction? Time presses, the continually advancing peril presses; shall we use our time, shall we squander and misuse it? Ireland is frightful; the vanguard of an England, of a British Empire, ripening daily towards unfathomable issues, and manful veracities, such as have long been asleep among us, will be required to deal with: Ireland is frightful; but Ireland is by no means the frightfullest. A chief Pilot of the Nation steering his ship on these terms, in such a condition of the elements, he is properly the frightful phenomenon. "Starboard, larboard!" there stands he, in his old pea-jacket, with his old official equanimity. Foreign-office lantern hung ahead; and steers and veers, now clear of the Disraeli Scylla on this hand, now of the Cobden Charybdis on that; and thinks the sea is a little knotty, and squalls are out; but hopes confidently the weather must mend, asks you meanwhile by the look of his eye: If the steering is not good? The unhappy mortal! and *smoke* is issuing from every port-hole; and before long, with this steerage, there will be news for him and us! Such a phenomenon of a steersman, he, I say, is the alarming one. Placid commonplace, and the thing is not "common;" the thing is huge and new, and springs from the foundations of the world; and will not, have become "common" till after strenuous generations have spent themselves to subdue it for us! New eras, changed circumstances,—universal Bankruptcy of Imposture, beneficent Doom of the Potato,—do actually come; the world's history, since its creation, is that of their coming. Recognize them; look with man's eyes into them; they too can be dealt with; they too are *blessings* of the Supreme Power. Look with poor pedant *spectacles* into them; recognize them not, pass on as if they were not; they will make you know that they *are*; they will grind you to pieces if you do not get to recognize them, and to conquer them too! The routine steersman, in this extremely unusual condition of the ship, he—what shall we do with him? The French papers said last year, he felt the fatigues of office disagree with him, and was about to "retire from public affair *a tout jamais*." "*A tout jamais*, for ever and a day," said the French editors! He really ought to consider it; and we. For the time is most uncommon, singular as any we have had these thousand years or more; and really if England have a distinguished constructive talent, equal to conquering the ugliest jungles yet met with; and be, as somebody has sulkily said, "the biggest *beaver* in this sublunary creation,"—we may ask with considerable interest, Is this gentleman in pea-jacket, then, who steers in this extraordinary manner, is he the living emblem, solemnly selected representative, practical focus, and working overseer of your English constructive faculty? The consummate flower of what you can do in the constructive line, at present, is this? You have had Cromwells, Longshank Edwards, Henry Plantagenets, Wilhelmus Conquestors; not to mention Arkwrights, Brindleys, Shakspeares, Samuel Johnsons; and this is what, in the progress of ages, you have finally got to? This; and, buried under continents of tape-thrums, dead traditions, and long-accumulated cobwebs, you *cannot* find a better than this;—and it is the year 1849; and "Imposture," everywhere in open bankruptcy, is rushing towards the Abyss! Does the idea, if not of suicide, at least of calling in the lawyers and settling your earthly affairs, never occur to you? Sir Robert Peel's speech we take as a prophecy,—and otherwise, or in the form of [illegible] practical proposal at this worse, incipient stage, we cannot called to consider it; sure prophecy that the baneful and graceful empire of red tape and imbecile routine, in this matter, has become intolerable to gods and men, and is to *end* before long: that whoever intends to govern England or Ireland henceforth, must look out for other methods, or prepare to take himself away—the sooner the better! Truer message, we venture to say, or more beneficent and indispensable, has not been uttered in any Parliament this long while past. In the name of all that is real and not maginary in England, we joyfully accept the omen!

C.

[The reader will not have needed the initial "C." to identify the author, whose signature is stamped on every line of this contribution. We would only point to a remarkable conjunction of circumstances in regard to its subject. Not only does it present the most recluse of our philosophers coming forward to bear the testimony of perennial history in aid of the most practical statesmen of our day, but it presents the biographer and vindicator of Cromwell concurring with the four quarters of Ireland in hailing the dawn of statesmanship after the dark age of that unhappy island. England and Ireland, Ulster and Munster, O'Connell and Cromwell, the House of Commons and the Hero-worshipper, are in conjunction in the House of Peel! Is it an omen! does the Member for Tamworth act under a spell?]

TALLEYRANDS FIRST FRIEND.

This lady, whose name was so long associated with every early success of the Prince, when he was still Abbe de Perigord, was the celebrated Countesse de Brionne, the mother of the unfortunate Prince de Lamballe, and grandmother of the present King of Sardinia. She was the first to distinguish the merit of the young Abbe, and by her influence to maintain him in his position in spite of the dislike manifested towards him by the court of Marie Antoinette. Even lately, I heard him speak of her in terms of intense gratitude and affection; and his voice, usually so deep and grave, faltered as he recounted to me the story of her death. She [illegible] out of the revolution, and retired to the Austrian dominions, having, by permission of the Emperor assumed the title of Princess of Lorraine. There she lived in poverty and obscurity for some years, resisting every effort made by M. de Talleyrand to obtain forgiveness for what she deemed his crime in having deserted his caste and renounced his profession, to adopt the principles of the revolution.—Among the little circle of devoted friends who had gathered round her in her exile, the conduct of M. de Talleyrand was frequently the subject of conversation, and she had been heard to declare that his defalcation had given her more pain than many sorrows which ought to have touched her more nearly. In the year 1805, when M. de Talleyrand, then in the zenith of his favour with Napoleon, accompanied the latter on his famous tour of "meditation" into Austria, he repaired to the little town of Linz, where the Princess had chosen her retreat, expressly to obtain an interview, with the hope of soothing her into forgetfulness of his errors. The letter which he despatched from the inn where he alighted, was a model of grace and politeness. He had recalled in its composition all the half-forgotten traditions of courtsey and high breeding which he had learned in her school. He had flattered her by every expression of gratitude for former favours, appealed to the memory of by-gone days, and announced his intention of personally waiting upon her for the answer on the morning following, unless he received a summons to appear before her that same evening. No answer came that night, and accordingly, about twelve on the day following the prince set forth from the little inn where he had alighted, to gain the small chateau, situated a short league from the town, where the Princess resided, full of doubt, and already somewhat disappointed at not having received, in reply to his letter, even so much as a cold permission to present himself before her. He had attired himself in a costume which should recall to her mind, as much as possible, the period of their first acquaintance, having carefully laid aside every token of the rank which he held at the court of the usurper, resolving that nothing in his person or demeanour should shock the taste and feelings of his friend. At length, the carriage stopped before the gate of a ruinous looking-building, which stood on the brow of a hill outside the town. M. de Talleyrand alighted, and walked up to the iron gate which looked into the fore-court, for he thought it might appear more discreet and in better taste to avoid every semblance of state and ceremony. He wished to bring to her mind the Abbe de Perigord alone, and hoped she might forget what he had become since then. The whole place wore a wild and desolate aspect, and the silence alarmed him. Not a soul was stirring about the premises, and what was still more extraordinary, was the circumstance of all the shutters being closed, although it was bright noonday. He pulled the bell with a viloent effort, and it sent forth that hollow melancholy sound, which is so peculiar to a deserted building. The summons was answered by an old portress, who hobbled to the gate with lagging pace, and eyes red and swollen with weeping, while, close at her heels, followed the old dog, whom he recognized on the instant as old Valiant, who used to run so joyously down the steps of *perron* to meet him, when he entered the courtyard of the hotel of Madame de Brionne, in Paris. But the animal knew him no longer, for he barked and growled with savage fury at every token of recognition; and the woman only sobbed the louder in answer to his enquiries, "Princess was gone!" she said. She had departed but a few hours before. She had left the chateau with all her retinue, and she feared that her brightness would never return. M. de Talleyrand has described the pang of that moment as being one of the most bitter that he has ever experienced throughout his whole life; and he remained for an instant silent from emotion. The woman drew from her pocket a letter which she said was to be delivered to the gentleman who had written from Linstel on the evening before, and who was to call for the answer. The Prince took it in silence, not daring to gaze upon its contents until alone. He reentered the carriage, and drove towards the town, and it was not until the chateau was lost to sight, and the barking of old Valiant was heard no more, that he mustered courage sufficient to break the seal and open the envelope. It contained nought but his own letter—not a word, not a syllable in explanation. He turned to the superscription, and then no longer felt astonishment. It was addressed to the "*Prince de Benevent, ministre de Napoleon, Empereur des Français.*" Every word was underlined; the meaning was clear. Such a person was unknown to the Princess de Lorraine! In spite of her advanced age and feeble health—in spite of the assurance of protection which Napoleon had vouchsafed to her on his approach, she had fled from the place rather than meet him who had deceived all her hopes and fallen so low (to use her own expression) as to serve as "footstool to enable the usurper to sit more at his ease upon the throne of the Bourbons." She returned no more to Linz even after the departure of Napoleon, but fixed her residence at Presburg; and when M. de Talleyrand repaired to Vienna to assist at the famous congress of 1814, his friendship made him forget his former repulse, and once more did he solicit more passionately than before, for pardon and reconciliation. This time the appeal was not in vain; he had returned to the good and righteous cause; he had once more reentered the *voie sacree*, and she answered him in her own hand, and by return of courier, bidding him use all despatch, as "the moments now were numbered." No sooner did the missive reach him, than he set out from Vienna without a moment's delay travelling night and day, until he reached Presburg, it was just at the grey peep of dawn when he traversed the streets of that ancient city, but yet he resolved to drive at once, prompted by one of those singular presentiments to which through life he has always listened, to the old palace which the princess now inhabited. How different was his reception from that he had experienced at Linz! Even at this early hour, servants were standing round the gate; and as soon as his carriage, with the broad rattling wheels and jingling bells, had turned the corner of the street, the gates were thrown open wide, and the carriage entered at once, without impediment. It was evident that he had been expected with impatience, for he was received in silence, as if there had been no time to waste in idle greeting. The old servants, whom he remembered, did not speak out their welcome, but merely bowed in acknowledgment of his kindly recognition, and hurried him without announcement and without ceremony to the chamber of their mistress. It was not until he stood upon the threshhold of that silent chamber and viewed the scene within, that the truth flashed upon his mind—then the reason of the expectation and the silent greeting, of the haste in which he had been ushered into her presence, became evident at once, and he tottered forward to the bed and fell upon his knees by the side of the priest, whose muttered prayer filled the room with a low mysterious murmur. Madame de Brionne was dying, her eyes were already closed, and her fingers were already relaxing their grasp of the rosary which lay outside the bed. It seemed as if the repose of death had already stolen over her, when suddenly as if a supernatural instinct had warned her of the entrance of M. de Talleyrand, she started up, and gazed at him fixedly; then said, with a sweet, sad smile of affection, as she stretched forth her hands towards him, "Ah, Monsieur de Perigord, you alone can tell how dearly I have lovedyou!" She sighed deeply, sank back upon the pillow, and before his lips had ceased their pressure upon her outstretched hand, it lay powerless and dead within his own. She had died while the words of tenderness with which she had greeted him were yet upon her lips, and while that smile of recognition yet lingered on her placid countenance. And when M. de Talleyrand rose from that bedside, her form was already straitened beneath the coverlet; the tapers were already lighted around the bed, and the sheet was thrown over her face, concealing it from view, so that he beheld it no more.—*Memoirs of Talleyrand.*

EXPERIENCES OF LITERATURE AND LITERARY MEN.

BY AN EX-EDITOR.

Goldsmith's tomb I remember; few now can designate the spot. It has been removed out of the Temple burying-ground, and the whole surface levelled and gravelled. A printing office on the north side of the ground took fire many years ago, and the tomb sustained some injury. It should have been repaired. It has been ruthlessly swept away instead, and neither tomb nor inscription designates the spot where the ashes of the poet repose. This is disgraceful to such a rich foundation as that of the Temple; but a smoke-dried bencher can have little congeniality of feeling with genius. The poet will live in his works when the Temple is no more than "the baseless fabric of a vision."

I have often, in passing through Temple lane, since I missed the poet's tomb, entered the Temple churchyard, and stood over many a [illegible] I have asked myself how many now living, a score of years older than I am, can designate the spot, or care about designating it, out of the two millions in this huge metropolis. Philosophy whispers that the memory of the few names floating above the surface of oblivion depends neither upon tombs, monuments, nor the gratitude of the world. The sons of genius live after death, despite multitudinous indifference. They live in the hearts of a few kindred spirits whose references prolong the feigned admiration, that pays its tribute in order to preserve itself from the wound the open acknowledgement of its indifference would inflict upon self-love. Even when it is thus, how much of the renown of the departed, after all, was secured, when living, by accident? How much has perished equally worthy of preservation with that which has survived? The best of us are short-sighted where great truths interpose betweed our wishes and the tale of our humanity.

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When Southey published his "Curse of Kehama" I recollect I had gone into the country, and had the task of reading it through in two evenings to a family party. The sensation made by a literary work upon society, coming from the pen of a popular author, was then considerable, and it seems to me that the pleasure it generated was far greater, and the taste displayed was of a higher character than at present. Now, perhaps, taste is more diluted, because it is more diffused. There are a vast many more who have arrived at 10 degrees on the scale, but there are very many less now who have reached 20 degrees. I recollect the first time I read the "Curse." "I charm thy life from the weapons of strife," &c. The poem did not please me. There were passages of great beauty, undoubtedly; but there was so much to wade through possessing little interest, that the labour overbalanced the gratification. There was too little of nature in the poem. Who now would wade through "Joan of Arc" or "Madoc?" What Tory, the most rabid, will say he peruses with delight the "Vision of Judgment," despite its canonization of the idol of his party, George III.

I have spoken of Scott's poetical ascendancy, and the wonderful run of his metrical tales. His poetry was on the wane in the year 1813 and 1814. At that time a far more brilliant orb was ascending over the poetical horizon in Byron, whose "Childe Harold" and "Giaour" drew public attention to strains written for all time. In 1813, Scott's "Rokeby" was published. That there was some falling off here was evident. I always thought metrical tales the proper appellation of Scott's poems. They could not be prolonged without attenuation of power, to the extent he prolonged them. The higher class of the productions of genius are destined to be rare in the most gifted. Scott was remarkable for producing much that was good in place of a little that was the offspring of "the highest heaven of invention." His poetry has been frequently excelled by that of other writers. His reputation reposes on his earliest works of fiction; and here, in one peculiar walk, he was unrivalled. I have said "Rokeby" was a falling off, and yet it will bear a fair comparison with his preceding works. His verses were put together with little care, and he used synonymous epithets at times in the same line, and sometimes misapplied them. A proof that he sacrificed little to poetical correctness, and yet his verses are harmonious, perhaps through his remarkable facility of versification. A parody on "Rokeby" came out the same year, a senseless thing, but indicative of a change in public feeling towards the favourite of the hour. Scott, a shrewd observer, no doubt saw all this, and felt that before a greater luminary his beams were growing pale. Yet "Rokeby" went through five editions. In 1814 it was followed by the "Lord of the Isles" and the "Border Antiquities." Never was greater industry displayed. It is undeniable that Scott is not to be be quoted as an authority upon any of his historical undertakings. When his "Life of Napoleon" appeared, a contradiction of facts so stated relative to the ex-Emperor's conduct before and during his embarkation was put into my hands by Capt. Usher, R. N. lately deceased. I inserted it in the *Globe* newspaper in September, 1827, on the authority of one of the parties, Usher himself. These were no trifling errors in an historian, and they were numerous and mendacious. I will quote one out of many. Scott stated that Napoleon disguised himself as a postilion or domestic, and invited the commissioners to sing songs and whistle, to make the people think he was not in the carriage, in order to escape their vengeance! None of the people in the South of France offered him any insult, but a seditious cry or two were heard at one place, which the fanatical priests had raised, and that only in these solitary examples. Napoleon never disguised himself; he never showed fear. He even requested a sergeant of marines to guard his door when on board Usher's frigate, the *undaunted*, according to Scott! There was not a word of truth in this statement. I have heard that before his death this brave and excellent officer published an account of the events alluded to himself. I have not seen it; but the examples I sent to the *Globe* came from him, and are no doubt repeated with a denial in his later statement. It was impossible for Scott to write so fast and to weigh conflicting statements sufficiently. He had noble opportunities, so many actors in the events on which he touched being living to consult, in place of relying upon anonymous statements and books written by speculators of all sorts, honest and dishonest: but then how were works to be written rapidly enough for poor Sir Walter's object? The "Field of Waterloo," published in 1815, was, as I recollect, Scott's last poem, and was very indifferent—not better than John Wilson Croker's, upon the same subject, which is not saying much in its favour. Toryism in rhyme is not poetry.

Scott possessed no little skill in managing the public to his own advantage, and he did right to use that skill. He well knew the value of his incog. after he published "Waverly," and he made a good use of it, not that he was to blame for this. The public is a selfish animal, and has no real regard for any writer beyond its own momentary gratification. It keeps to the mode whatever the mode may be, and sacrifices to that Moloch alike the bad, good, and indifferent, in the plenitude of its irrational caprices. The glory of "Waverly" paved the way for other works, some of them good, others unworthy their author, but all of them were found equally acceptable in the indiscriminate rage for the writings of the "Great Unknown," as Scott was styled. "Waverly" deserved all that was said of it. It has afforded delight to millions, and will do so to millions yet unborn. The novelty and mystery of his novels were of themselves captivating. "Scott is pawky," said one of his countrymen to me; "he knows what's what." There was no need of invention as to the story when it was historic. The names of his heroes were interesting, and the bias of their dialogues was well known to him; so that much wear and tear of mind were saved. He laid his scenes in the miserable and barbarous times of his country's history, poor among the poorest as they were, without his embellishments. He made heroes of bandits, and placed worth upon the shoulders of a freebooting ancestry. He magnified border robbers into heroes, and raised his native land in repute by misrepresentation, of which none better knew the fallacy than himself. But then he afforded amusement and gratification far and wide. He elevated the tone of his country's feeling. Though his Tory prejudices ran counter to advancing civilisation, to freedom in all its forms, religious as well as civil—though he roasted Covenanters without mercy, and extolled the savage agents of the meanest despotisms, he painted life so well, so newly, so much above all contemporaries in fiction, there was so much of nature's truth in his characters, that he commanded admiration where there was a consciousness of his misrepresentations. He gilded the hollow and unsubstantial with refined gold. He clothed the barbarous and base in robes of light. He invested deformity with beauty, and made the castled barbarians of feudal times act the part of chiefs clothed with polished sentiments and moved by exalted heroism. How many proselytes he added to the Tory ranks cannot be known, but if not many, he wonderfully strengthened the ignorance and fatuity of all within the pale, confirming their faith "five fathoms deep." The same year in which the "Field of Waterloo" appeared I remember Hogg, whom Scott had patronised, published a poem called the "Pilgrims of the Sun."

I shall revert again to Scott, who, with ease and even opulence of circumstances, sacrificed all to acquire wealth that he might secure the dubious honours of a Scotch lairdship. An object unworthy such a writer, originating painful reflections. Never before were the inspirations of genius so meanly directed. Scott had forgotten in his delusion that the day of ancestral honours had gone by. He had forgotten Blackstone's proof that in twenty generations every man must have a million of ancestors. How has the idle dream of this great and kind man been confounded in the result. Alas for our humanity!—*Jerrold's News.*

—PLAGUE SCENES AT CONSTANTINOPLE: "After waiting [illegible] which time there was a scuffling and running up and down of priests and deacons, who were surprised and perhaps a little alarmed at a visit from so numerous a company of gentlemen belonging to the British embassy, we were introduced into a large square room furnished with a divan under the windows and down two sides of the chamber. This divan was covered with a rough sacking of grey goats' hair—a stuff which is said not to be susceptible of the plague; and people sitting on it, or on the bare boards, are not considered to be '*compromised*'—a word of fearful import when that awful pestilence is raging in this neglected city. When any person is compromised, he is obliged to separate from all society, and to place himself in strict quarantine for forty days, at the end of which period, if the fright and anxiety have not brought on the plague, he is received again by his acquaintances. Dealers in oil, and persons who have an open issue on their bodies, are considered secure from the plague as far as they themselves are concerned; but as their clothes will convey the infection, they are as dangerous as others to their neighbours.

"There was an old Armenian who, whether he considered himself invulnerable, or whether poverty and misfortune made him reckless, I do not know; but he set up as a plague-doctor, and visited and touched those who were stricken with the pestilence. Whenever he came down the street, every one would start aside and give him three or four yards' space at least. Sometimes he had men who walked before him and cried to the people to get out of the way. As the old man moved on, in his long, dark robes, shunned with such horror by all, the mind was awfully impressed with the fearful nature of the disease; for if the Prince of Darkness himself had made his appearance in the face of day, no one could have shown greater alarm at his approach than they did when the men cried out that the Armenian plague-doctor was coming down the street.

"One peculiarity of the disease is the disinclination which is always shown by those who are plague-stricken to confess that they are so, or even to own that they are ill. They invariably conceal it as long as possible; and even when burning with fever and in an agony of pain, they will pretend that they are well, and try to walk about. But this attempt at deception continues for a very short period, for they soon become either delirious or insensible, and generally are unable to move. There is a look about the eye and an expression of anxiety and horror in the face of one who has got the plague which is not to be mistaken or forgotten by those who have once seen them. One day at Galata I nearly ran against a man who was sitting on the ground on a hand-bier, upon which some Turks were about to carry him away; and the look of the unfortunate man's face haunted me for days. The expression of hopeless despair and agony was indeed but too applicable to his case; they were going to carry him to the plague hospital, from whence I never heard of any one returning. It would have been far more merciful to have shot him at once.

"There are many curious superstitions and circumstances connected with the plague. One is, that when the destroying angel enters into a house the dogs of the quarter assemble in the night and howl before the door; and the Greeks firmly believe that the dogs can see the evil spirit of the plague, although it is invisible to human eyes. Some people, however, are said to have seen the plague, its appearance being that of an old woman, tall, thin, and ghastly, and dressed sometimes in black, sometimes in white: she stalks along the streets—glides through the doors of the habitations of the condemned—and walks once round the room of her victim, who is from that moment death-smitten. It is also asserted that, when three small spots make their appearance upon the knee, the patient is doomed—he has got the plague, and his fate is sealed. They are called the pilotti—the pilots and harbingers of death.—Some, however, have recovered after these spots have shown themselves.

"I had at this time a lodging in a house at Pera, which I occupied when anything brought me to Constantinople from Therapia. On one occasion I was sitting with a gentleman whose filial piety did him much honour, for he had attended his father through the horrors of this illness, and he had died of the plague in his arms, when he heard the dogs baying in an unusual way. On looking out of the window there they were all of a row, seated against the opposite wall, howling mournfully, and looking up at the house in the moonlight. One dog looked very hard at me, I thought; I did not like it at all, and began to investigate whether I had not some pain or other about me; and this comfortable feeling was not diminished when my friend's Arab servant came into the room and said that another person who lodged in the house was very unwell; it was said that he had a fall from his horse that morning. The dogs, though we escaped the plague ourselves, were right; the plague had got into one of the houses close to us in the same street; but how many died of it I did not learn.

"It was about this time that two Jews—extortioners, poor men, whom consequently nobody cared about—were walking together in a narrow street at Galata, when they both dropped down stricken with the plague; there they lay upon the ground; no one would touch them, and as the street was extremely narrow no one could pass that way; it was in effect blocked up by the two unhappy men. They did not die quickly. 'The devil was sure of them,' the charitable people said, 'so he was in no hurry.' There they lay a long time—many days; and people called to them, and put their heads round the corner of the street to look at them. Some, tenderer-hearted than the rest, got a long pole from a dyer's shop hard by, and pushed a tub of water to them, and threw them some bread, for no one dared approach them. One Jew was quiet; he ate a little bread and drank some water, and lay still. The other was violent: the pain of his livid swellings drove him wild, and he shouted and raved and twisted about upon the ground. The people looked at him from the corner, and shuddered as they quickly drew back their heads. He died; and the other Jew still lay there, quiet as he was before, close to the quiet corpse of his poor friend. For some time they did not know whether he was dead or not; but at last they found he drank no more water and ate no more bread; so they knew that he had died also. There lay the two bodies in the way, till some one paid a hamal—a Turkish porter—who, being a staunch predestinarian, caring neither for plague, nor Jew, nor Gentile, dead or alive, carried off the two bodies on his back, and then the street was passible again.

"The Turks have a touching custom when the plague rages very greatly, and a thousand corpses are carried out daily from Stamboul through the Adrianople gate to the great groves of cypress which rise over the burial grounds beyond the walls. At times of terror and grief, such as these, the Sheikh Ul Islam causes all the little children to be assembled on a beautiful green hill called the Oc Maiden—the Place of Arrows—and there they bow down upon the ground, and raise their innocent voices in supplication to the Father of Mercy, and implore his compassion on the afflicted city."—*Visit to the Monasteries of the Levant.*

THE DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS OF THE ANTS.—The kidnapping habit has been chiefly observed in the red ants; those which are enslaved being of a jet black. The time for capturing slaves extends over a period of about ten weeks, and never commences until the male and female ants are about coming forth from the pupa state; and thus the marauders never interfere with the continuation of the race of the tribes they subjugate. This appears to be a special adaptation of their peculiar instinct; for if the attacks were made on the nests of the negro ants (as they have been called) before those by whom the race is propagated are ready to shift for themselves, these communities must speedily become extinct. When the red ants are about to sally forth on a marauding expedition, they send scouts to ascertain the exact position in which a colony of negro ants may be found; these scouts, having discovered the object of their search, return to the nest, and seem to report their success. Shortly afterwards, the army of red ants marches forth, headed by a van-guard composed of eight or ten ants only; this is continually being changed,—the individuals which constitute it halting when they have advanced a little before the main body, falling to the rear, and being then replaced by others. When they arrive near the negro colony, they disperse, wandering through the herbage, and hunting about, as if aware of the neighbourhood of the object of their search, yet ignorant of its exact position. At last they discover the settlement; and the foremost of the invaders rushing impetuously to the attack, are met, grappled with, and frequently killed by the negroes on guard. The alarm is quickly communicated to the interior of the nest; the negroes sally forth by thousands; and the red ants rushing to the rescue, a desperate conflict ensues, which, however, always terminates in the defeat of the negroes, who retire to the innermost recesses of their habitation. Now follows the scene of pillage, [illegible] the sides of the negro ant-hill, and rush into the heart of the citadel. In a few minutes each of the invaders emerges, carrying in its mouth the pupa of a worker negro, which it has obtained in spite of the vigilance and valour of its natural guardians; and the red ants then return to their own nest in perfect order, bearing with them their living burthens.—The pupæ of the negro ants appear to be treated by their red captors entirely as their own; and the workers, when they emerge, perform the various duties of the community with the greatest energy and apparent good will; they repair the nest, excavate passages, collect food, feed the larvæ, take the pupæ into the sunshine, and perform every office which the welfare of the community seems to require; in fact they conduct themselves entirely as if fulfilling their original destination; and there can be little question that they have as much enjoyment in the homes in which they have been reared, as they would have experienced if brought up in the communities from which they were transported when as yet insensible of the change; for the red ants do not impose upon them labours from which they hold themselves exempt, but all toil alike with the most perfect equality.

That ants should have their *milch-cattle* seems as extraordinary as that they should have their *slaves*; it is, nevertheless, a well-established fact. The various species of *aphides*, or plant-lice, supply food to different species of ants, by yielding to them the juices which they have themselves extracted from the leaves and young shoots of the plants on which they are found. The ants not merely attend upon them, and eagerly suck up these juices when they are spontaneously discharged, but even possess the art of making the aphides yield it at their pleasure,—in other words, of milking them; this they effect by briskly patting the bodies of the aphides with their antennæ, on each side alternately, until they have yielded the desired drop. It even appears that ants make a property of these cows; a certain set keeping possession of the ants inhabiting the branches of a particular tree, or the stalks of a plant, and driving away all intruders who attempt to share their treasure; and sometimes even constructing a sort of enclosure around the pasture when it lies conveniently for their own nest. The common yellow ant is said to be the greatest cow-keeper of the whole tribe: collecting, even within its own nest, a large herd of a kind of aphis that derives its nutriment from the roots of grass and neighbouring plants, and rearing their progeny with the same care and assiduity that they bestow upon their own.—*Dr. Carpenter, in the London Inquirer.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

PEACE CONGRESS IN PARIS.—It is said that M. de Lamartine has accepted the office of Chairman of the Provisional Committee of the approaching Peace Congress in Paris.

MONUMENT TO THE POET THOMPSON.—A monument, in the form of a column, is to be erected to the memory of Thompson, at Richmond, either upon the hill or upon the terrace-walk in the park.

WHAT WILL ELIHU SAY?—A "true-born Briton" on the banks of the Tyne, on being apprised of Lord Gough's victory over the Sikhs, in a frenzy of enthusiasm spun his hat into the air, vociferating at the top of his voice, "Nor! ha'e we lick'd the beggars? Are ye sure it's true? *Aw'm a Burrittite*, but aw'm glad. Hooray!"

ANOTHER SINGING MOUSE!—The "year of revolutions" afforded provincial editors an ample supply of interesting topics; now that order is returning, Irish rebels and Kennington Common Chartists are "keeping the peace," Nature again indulges in her freaks. The race of singing mice it appears is not yet extinct. The following is from the *Cambrian*:—"A very curious and highly interesting little animal is at the present time in the possession of a person residing in this town [Brecon], of the name of John Watkins, who captured it about seven weeks since. It is a mouse of the common species, but possesses a power of singing similar to the bird in a wonderful degree. It has been exerting its peculiar vocal abilities to the great astonishment and pleasure of hundreds in this neighbourhood. The imitations of the note of the woodlark and the linnet are very striking; the notes partake likewise of those of the nightingale. The often repeated jug, jug, jug, is truly beautiful. The little fellow appears very happy and domesticated, enjoying an excellent appetite, and so playful and attached to his master that he frequently pretends to fight with him."

NEW COLLEGE FOR LADIES.—The establishment for the education of governesses, known as Queen's College, has called forth another scheme of a similar kind, which is in a very forward state of development. Queen's College, as our readers are probably aware, is founded strictly upon the principles of the Church of England—many of its committee are professors or otherwise connected with King's College, and in consequence many young persons, on account of their religious belief, are unable to avail themselves of advantages which will hereafter become almost necessary to the education of a governess, or at least to her attaining that rank in her profession which will entitle her to a good situation. The new establishment will be founded on principles which will admit all religions. Although not immediately connected with University College, which, in fact, repudiates as far as possible any absolute connections whatever; the new college for governesses will be under the patronage of at least one professor and the ladies of two other professors of the great liberal establishment. We are assured, however, that many members of King's College support the new institution, from a conviction that advantages so eminent should be extended to every religious creed.—*London Atlas.*

At the half-yearly Meeting of the Western (England) Unitarian Christian Union, held recently at Bristol, Mr. J. B. Estlin, on taking the chair, said:

He begged to be allowed to make a remark upon a topic adverted to by Mr. Madge in his admirable discourse, at the chapel, though, being a layman, he might not employ terms precisely suited to the pulpit—he referred to the complaint of Unitarians being too *sectarian*. He (Mr. Estlin) hoped and believed the time would arrive, when, if the question were asked, to what sect such or such a man belonged, the answer would be, "I do not know: I see that piety to God is a marked feature in his character; in his daily intercourse with his fellow-men his conduct is unselfish and unworldly; he carries out the Saviour's precept of doing to others as he would desire they should act towards him; I know not if he be an Episcopalian or a Presbyterian, a Baptist or an Independent, a Unitarian or a Catholic, bnt I see he is a *Christian*."

FORTY-SHILLING FREEHOLDS.—"The people of England," as Sir Robert Peel once advised them to do, are certainly "taking their own affairs into their own hands." At the usual subscription meeting of the Birmingham Freehold Land Society on Thursday week, for